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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor
JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor



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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly



Volume VII

Number 1

February, 1938

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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

Soldiering on the High Plains

The Diary of Lewis Byram Hull,
1864-1866

Edited by MYRA E. HULL

I. INTRODUCTION

THE diary of Lewis B. Hull¹ is published with no changes except the deletion of a few personal or unimportant passages and minor changes in punctuation. In transcribing the diary of her father, Myra E. Hull was impelled by two motives: first, to preserve for the diarist's descendants this revelation of his life and character during a significant period; second, to make permanent and accessible his detailed, accurate, first-hand information concerning a phase of American history only vaguely understood, namely, the part played by the volunteer soldier in the opening up of the Northwest, particularly the region of the high plains.

The diary furnishes a glimpse of the flora and fauna of that vast region over which, in the sixties, still roamed millions of buffalo and vast herds of deer, elk, moose, and bear, offering royal sport to the soldier-hunter and food for his commissary. The diary also describes vividly army life on the plains, particularly at Fort Laramie, the most historic spot in the Northwest, and at Fort Halleck, that little-known post which was the center of Indian hostilities on the Overland trail during 1865, "the bloody year on the Plains."

For the most part, the events of the diary occurred along the two main westward routes across Wyoming, the Oregon trail and the Overland stage route. The Oregon trail, two thousand and twenty

1. Lewis Byram Hull was born near Greenfield, Highland county, Ohio, November 18, 1841. His father's family came to southern Ohio from Rockbridge county, Virginia, about 1818. His mother, Tabitha Byram, was a lineal descendant of John Alden. Through the Byrams, his heritage was that of a soldier, Edward Byram I, his great grandfather, being a Revolutionary soldier, and Edward Byram II a soldier in the War of 1812.

Withdrawing from college, he enlisted as a volunteer, and at Camp Mitchell, Ohio, November 2, 1861, was enrolled in the 60th Ohio volunteer infantry. He served in the Virginia campaign until his division surrendered to General Jackson at Harper's Ferry, September 15, 1862. He was mustered out with his regiment, November 19, 1862, under parole not to re-enlist in the War Between the States. (He kept a diary of this campaign also.)

On February 2, 1864, he enlisted in the 11th Ohio cavalry and served with this regiment in the Indian campaigns of the Northwest until he was mustered out with his regiment, at Fort Leavenworth, July 14, 1866. The diary covers this entire period.

In the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, at the time of his death, May 9, 1902, the editor, Alvah Shelden, wrote: "In the death of Lewis B. Hull, Butler county lost one of her best and most intelligent citizens. He was an early settler in the county, and a bright student of her conditions and possibilities. He read much and worked much. He experimented much in fruit and other horticultural lines. He bred fine stock and was an intelligent farmer in a very high sense. He reared a large family and spared no pains in giving his children the advantages of high education. He was public spirited and charitable. The good he did was beyond estimate."

miles long, extended from Independence, Mo., to Fort Kearney, Nebraska, following the south bank of the North Platte to Fort Laramie, thence westward past Platte Bridge station to Fort Bridger, northwest, to Fort Boise, and on to the Pacific. The Overland stage route, the South Platte route, extended from Fort McPherson westward through Julesburg, Fort Collins, Virginia Dale, to Fort Halleck, and across Green river valley to Fort Bridger, where it touched the Oregon trail and turned sharply southwest to Salt Lake City. A third route is traced in the diary in the Powder river expedition, following, in part, the Bozeman trail, but extending farther into Montana and the Dakotas.

A brief survey of the western movements in the sixties may aid the reader of the diary in realizing the magnitude of the task of the soldiers policing that region during the period. For fifteen years before the beginning of the diary, the Oregon trail had been the scene of an almost continuous panorama of westward migration. First came the Mormons. Then followed the hordes of gold seekers, with the "forty-niners" in the van, ninety thousand of whom passed Fort Laramie the first year of the gold rush, five hundred and forty-nine of their wagons having been counted within a stretch of nine miles. The discovery of the great Comstock lode in Nevada in 1859 multiplied the traffic, and in the same year the Cherry creek gold field drew 150,000 prospectors to Colorado. With the discovery of gold in Montana, Bannock and Virginia City sprang up over night; the Idaho gold rush of 1863 drew thirty thousand more adventurers.²

The passing of the Homestead act, May 20, 1862, lured to the West a vast army of land-hungry emigrants, countless thousands, who, encouraged by a government that had no conception of the hazards of Western travel, poured along the Oregon trail. It is estimated that 250,000 emigrants passed along the two main highways between 1859 and 1869.

When, in 1861, the Overland stage route was opened along the Platte, it became the favorite road for stage coaches, overland mail, wagon trains, and freighters. It is impossible to conceive of the magnitude of this traffic. Russell, Majors, and Waddell, government contractors who transported military supplies to the forts along the trails, used more than six thousand wagons, with a capacity of three tons each, and seventy-five thousand oxen. Between 1861-1866 "Ben Holladay operated daily about five thousand miles of stage coaches, having an equipment of five hundred freight wagons,

2. Hebard, Grace Raymond, *The Pathbreakers from River to Ocean*, p. 160.

five hundred coaches and express wagons, five thousand horses and mules, and numerous oxen."³ The annual cost of equipping and operating this stage line was approximately three and a half million dollars.

The vast throng of emigrants, the Overland stage, the Overland mail, the wagon trains and freighters, and the two thousand miles of telegraph lines were all dependent for protection against Indian hostilities upon the utterly inadequately garrisoned forts and stations scattered at wide intervals along three thousand miles of trails. Such was the setting for the stirring incidents of the diary, from February 2, 1864, to July 14, 1866.

II. CINCINNATI TO FORT LEAVENWORTH

Feb. 2, 1864—We⁴ left Greenfield on the morning train for Cincinnati. Arriving there, we enlisted for the 11th Ohio cavalry, stationed at Fort Laramie. We put up at the Phoenix house and went out to the opera to see Maggie Mitchell.

Feb. 3—We started for Dayton on the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton railroad.

Feb. 4—We arrived in Dayton and were sworn in and drew our clothes. I put up at the Canal house. We drew \$76 bounty, which, with the premium, made \$80. The next day we went to Columbus by way of Xenia and were lodged in Tod Barracks, a rather dirty place.

Feb. 6—We signed the payroll. We drew \$75 bounty.

Feb. 7—Sunday. Preaching in the dining room.

Feb. 8—Sent home \$120 by H. S. Williams, pay agent.

Feb. 9, 1864—Orders to start to St. Louis. Drew rations late in the evening.

Feb. 10—Left Columbus for Cincinnati, arriving at 9:30, and marched to the 6th street market place. I ran over town until night and at 7 o'clock started for St. Louis on the Ohio and Mississippi R. R. Arrived at the landing on the Mississippi and crossed over to St. Louis. Took street car to Benton barracks. They are very dirty, the worst I ever saw.

Feb. 18—So cold I had to sit by the fire part of the night.

Feb. 22—Washington's birthday. Orders for the Ohio and Colorado boys to get ready to tramp. Left the miserable hole at noon.

3. Hebard, *The Bozeman Trail*, v. I, p. 68.

4. Besides the diarist this group of Greenfield boys included Pleas W. Brown, Wip H. Caldwell, Tip Thurman, Joshua Grim, Will Odell, a cousin of L. B. Hull, and Charlie Adams, his most intimate friend, whom he mentions often in the diary and whose *Civil War Reminiscence Interestingly Told* is cited several times in footnotes.

Went to town, left our traps at headquarters, and went to the Soldier's home for dinner. Ordered to stay there till 10 at night. Got our baggage from the Soldier's home and took the street cars for the North Missouri R. R.

Feb. 23, 1864—We left St. Louis, arriving at St. Charles at 2:30. We crossed the Missouri on the ferry boat and took the cars. Daylight found us at Jonesburg. Later we changed cars at Macon for the Hannibal and St. Joseph R. R. Passed through Mexico and Chillicothe; fine country, except a few miles west of Macon. We arrived at St. Joseph in the evening and took supper; went over to the Waverly house and slept in the ladies' parlor.

Feb. 24—We breakfasted and went over town. Charlie, Pleas, and I had our picture taken. I sent away a single one or two. Took the cars at 11 o'clock on the Platte County R. R. Arrived at Weston and marched down to the ferry. Our transportation being refused, we crossed over to Kansas. Arrived at Fort Leavenworth at 5 P. M., and found a clean, warm, beautiful place to stay, on the bank of the river. Fine place, as good as we could ask.

Feb. 25—Horse race near camp.

Feb. 26—Went down to Leavenworth City; quite a town with plenty of American go-ahead-ativeness manifest at every step. Sat for a negative.

Feb. 27—Splendid winter weather.

March 1, 1864—A squad of our regiment came down this morning. One of old Company F was along, J. C. Bratten. Laid in a supply of stationery.

March 6—Sunday. Took a long walk up to the fortifications. Catholic meeting.

March 7—Cloudy with a little rain.

March 9—Thunder storm last night.

March 10—Dismal rumors of starting for the plains in a day or two.

March 11—Ordered to be ready to march in the morning. Drew oil blankets this evening. Ground covered with snow.

March 12, 1864—We left Leavenworth with five wagons, one tent, and seventy men.⁵ Our transportation is limited to twenty days' rations. Marched 12 miles. Lieutenant Wright of the 16th Kansas in charge.

March 13—Started on ahead of the wagons. Got lost and went

5. This cavalry troop had no horses. They walked the whole distance to Fort Laramie, nearly seven hundred miles, except for an occasional ride on a supply train wagon or mule.

nearly to Atchison. Stopped at a house for dinner. Reached camp soon after the wagons. Fifteen miles march.

March 14—Stretched our blankets in shape of wedge tent. Camped on Little Grasshopper, beyond Lancaster. Thirteen miles.

March 15—Camp on Big Grasshopper. Corporal of the guard, tonight. Nineteen miles.

March 16—Aroused the camp at daylight. Breakfast before sunrise. Camp is visited by Kinnekuck, chief of the Kickapoos.⁶ Are camped on their reserve. I was ordered to take charge of the first wagon and let no one ride. Fifteen miles.

March 17—Passed through Seneca. Stopped and mailed a letter to M—. Fight between MacDonald and Stratton. Some of the boys arrested for stealing hats and boots. Camped near Uncle John's store. Two dozen eggs for supper, eight a piece. Fifteen miles.

March 18—Cold and windy. Started at 8 and reached camp at 2. Walked nearly all the way. Another fight. Whiskey in the ascendant. Build fire before our "kennel."

March 19—Quite cool, got up at daylight, drew rations, and helped cook breakfast. Charlie Adams and I started on ahead of the wagons. We walked till twelve, ate our dinner, and went on to Marysville, where we waited for the wagons. Bought eggs, onions, needles, and fishing lines. Rode across Big Blue; second team got tangled in crossing. Camp on Big Blue. Good supper. Fresh pork. Fifteen miles.

March 20—Sunday. Boys killed some prairie chickens and red squirrels. Camp on an Indian reserve. Detailed for corporal of the guard. Seventeen miles.

March 21—Up at 7 A. M. Called the third guard and kept them on till daylight. Charlie and I started out early with our rifles to hunt. We crossed into Nebraska at 10:00 A. M. Camp on Rock creek. Fifteen miles.

March 22—Crossed Little Sandy and camped on the Big Sandy. Twenty miles.

March 23—Camped on Little Blue. 28 miles.

March 24—Orders for all to ride, but about forty men have gone on to walk awhile. Some men near us on the way to Bannock.⁷ No feed for mules. Thirty-one miles.

6. Kennekuk was a famous chief and a wise leader of his people. His photograph is preserved in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

7. Bannock was in southwestern Montana, south of Virginia City, and had been flourishing since the Montana gold rush in 1863.

March 25—Coffee and crackers for breakfast. Have to haul wood to cook supper. Whiskey plenty. On guard duty the fore part of the night. I helped tie up a drunken fellow to a wagon wheel; kept him there nearly an hour and a half, when I let him down and put him to bed.

March 26—Reached the junction of the Omaha road soon after noon. Saw Kearney when within seven miles. A mirage was perceptible. Houses looked like conical objects suspended in midair without foundations. Reached Fort Kearney at three o'clock.

III. AT FORT KEARNEY—March 26 to April 20

Reached Fort Kearney⁸ on the south bank of the Platte. Not much fort; barracks without bunks. The Platte here is 400 yards wide, but only a few inches deep the most of the way. It is treacherous because of quicksands.

March 28—The windiest day I ever saw. Blew a perfect hurricane all night. Went after bread; lost my hat; brought in the bread and went back for my hat but came back minus. Almost impossible to face the wind. Sand and gravel cut the face.

March 29—Weather warmer and storm over. Ground covered with snow.

March 30—Went out on the bluffs and saw a large number of dead wolves scattered over the plains and skeletons of buffaloes. The bluffs are perfect sand hills. Found my hat and pieces of tent, etc., blown away by the storm.

April 1—Charlie, Will, and I went hunting over the river. Saw geese, ducks, chickens, and other game, but could not get close enough to kill anything. A band of Pawnees at the fort. They say they are after the Sioux, who have stolen their horses. They want provisions and tobacco. Some of them are all painted and dressed in robes with bows and arrows at their backs. They stay around over-night begging clothes and tobacco. Began snowing tonight.

April 3—Pleas Brown and I were detailed as sergeant and corporal of the guard. Snow drifted about five feet deep.

April 7—Raining. Went hunting. Saw plenty of geese and ducks.

8. Upon the recommendation of Gen. John C. Fremont, congress established along the Oregon trail four forts to protect 2,020 miles of road: Fort Kearney, 1849, 316 miles northwest of Independence, Mo.; Fort Laramie, 351 miles from Fort Kearney; Fort Bridger, 408 miles from Fort Laramie, built by Jim Bridger in 1842 and purchased by the government in 1858; Fort Hall, Idaho, 218 miles west, beyond Fort Bridger and 732 miles from Vancouver. (Abridged from Hebard, *The Bozeman Trail*, v. 1, p. 47.)

Fort Kearney, situated on the south bank of the Platte a few miles south of the present city of Kearney, was surrounded by a military reserve ten miles square. At present, in the Fort Kearney State Park, the old earthworks and parade grounds are preserved, and several of the old buildings of the fort have been restored.

April 9—Sergeant of the guard for twelve hours out of twenty-four. Evening warm and pleasant.

April 10—Escort of the second detachment arrived, and report that the detachment will be in this evening.⁹ Detachment ordered to halt three miles from the fort because some of them are sick with something like smallpox. Mounted pickets throughout to keep us from the other boys. Will has taken a team and gone for corn. Weather warm, clear, and pleasant. Feels as if spring is here at last.

April 11—A large train passing for the mines. Sale of condemned flour, whiskey, etc. A large detachment marched up to the hospital to be vaccinated.

April 12—Went to the bluffs hunting. Followed some deer tracks. Started one "jack" and a flock of chickens.

April 14—David Stratton came up from the other camp, the first time I had seen him since Camp Douglas.¹⁰ Wagons returned with corn last night. Co. H, 7th Ohio reported to have smallpox.

April 16—Boys bathing in the river. Quite warm.

April 19—Some of the boys refuse to do guard duty. Brown and I have to stand guard all night.

IV. FORT KEARNEY TO FORT LARAMIE

April 20—Leave Ft. Kearney for Ft. Laramie. Both detachments put into one, and Lt. Montgomery turns over his command to Lt. Wright, who now has command of all recruits. One doctor with us. Mart Hughey left behind with rheumatism. Camp 18 miles from Ft. Kearney. Hot biscuits for supper. Some good singing after supper. The Swiss captain and his men and doctor were with us. The captain is on furlough from his own country and is taking a trip for hunting. The doctor is on his way from Washington to join the 11th, having dispatches from Col. Collins. Weather warm and pleasant.

April 21—Camp on Plum creek ranch. Whiskey in the ascendant, and of course plenty of quarreling. Went hunting with Curtis; saw some pheasants for the first time. Went up to where some Denver men were stopping. Marched seventeen miles.

April 22—Followed the Platte river nearly all day. Snowing and raining. The lieutenant told us to pitch the tent and we might sleep in it. We also pitched Mrs. Burke's tent.

9. "The two detachments now totaled about 200 men." (Charlie W. Adams, *Civil War Reminiscence Interestingly Told*. Privately printed. Greenfield, Ohio.)

10. Camp Douglas, Chicago, Ill.

April 23—Cold and frosty. Shot at a crane. Not much game. Met a band of Indians, nine miles above camp, Sioux of the Brule tribe. They were better looking and better dressed than the Pawnees. They were going over on the Republican to hunt. Had women and children with them, wigwams, dogs, horses, and all the accompaniments of an Indian encampment. Some were walking, some riding; some armed with rifles, some with bows and arrows. The lodge poles were strapped to the ponies' sides and a kind of a basket or pannier tied behind, filled with plunder and papooses. The little ones had their heads sticking out and seemed well contented. Others a little larger were on horseback. Part of the lodges were still standing, and the squaws were very busy tearing them down, catching ponies, and loading up the horses while the men were doing nothing. Some of the girls were not so bad looking as some white girls I have seen. We camped on the banks of the Platte. I saw an Indian grave today on the road. It was in a wrapper of something on four poles eight or ten feet high.

Another band of Indians camped near us, Ogilallas. They were also on a hunt. Men, women, and children in camp, great beggars. They are shooting for soda crackers with bows and arrows. Saw my first prairie dog today. Twenty-two miles today.

April 24—Heavy frost. Passed several ranches and saw a number of Indians and a large drove of horses and mules on the way to California. Camped on the Cottonwood after walking 23 miles.

April 25—Bluffs more broken and pointed than further down. Warm thru' day. At 4 o'clock wind changed from south to north, blowing hard and turning much colder. Eighteen miles.

April 26—Marched 18 miles and camped on Fremont's slough. Saw some more Indians stuck up to dry, and some live ones. Beans and dirt for breakfast. Reached O'Fallons Bluff, passed O'Fallon's post office. Wagons several miles behind. Several mules lost, strayed or stolen, so there had to be three four-mule teams.¹¹ Some of the boys tied up for drunkenness.

April 27—Caught a white weasel today. Camped near Rising Sun ranch. Lieutenant telegraphed to Laramie for more transportation. Has the promise of three more wagons at Muddy Springs. Twenty miles.

April 28—Dark and cloudy, commenced raining. Very disagreeable. Reached the Lone Tree ranch before noon. Had dinner and supper, then pitched the Sibley tent for the mess. I am now out on

11. On the heavily loaded wagons of the supply trains six mules were usually used to each wagon.

the prairie, having helped eat a can of strawberries, very good for boys. The sun is shining pleasantly. The Lone Tree ranch is near where the "Lone Tree" of history formerly stood. It was a cottonwood six feet in diameter, standing alone, no others in many miles. The old monarch stood for ages alone, but at last a prairie fire caught in its hollow trunk and it was burned down. The boys cut chips as mementos; I cut one myself.¹²

April 29—Guns issued to carry in case of attacks by Cheyennes. Carried a gun all day. Reached the Buckeye ranch at the old California crossing before 9 o'clock. Camped about noon. Waded out to an island for brush for fuel. Dress parade in the evening. Counted off and organized into two reliefs, each to ride half the time.

April 30—Reached Julesburg, Colorado, before noon. Here we met Major Converse and lady. A small town of five or six houses and a telegraph station. The Denver road¹³ leaves the old road here. Nearly half of us waded the river. It is not over two feet deep but a quarter of a mile wide. Two wagons unloaded and went back for the rest of the boys. Crossed over [Lodge?] Pole creek and camped. Saw my first antelope, several of the boys chasing it. Prairie dogs very wild.

May 1—Charlie, Wip, and I walked on ahead and waited for the wagons. Rode most of the day; camped on Pole creek.

May 2—Lay over at this camp today. Three of the boys attempted to desert and were put under arrest. Fishing; weather warm.

May 3—Thunder storm with rain and hail. Eleven of the mules missing; none to ride today. Walked awhile and then waited for Will's wagon. Camp at Fremont Springs. 31 miles.

May 4—Lay over waiting for transportation from Laramie. Met some of the escort from the fort yesterday.

May 5—Left Muddy Springs. Passed Court House rock, a very interesting and curious concern, standing as it does on a plain several hundred feet high. Many of the boys went over to it, but I was too sick. They brought a skull from the rock which is said to have been there forty years. Camp on the North Platte, three miles from Chimney rock, another curiosity. It rises to a considerable height,

12. After seventy-three years, this memento is still in the possession of the Hull family. On it is carved "Lone Tree."

13. This was the new road from Julesburg to Denver. It ran thence over the old wagon road to Fort Lupton, then north across the Laramie plains and west to Fort Bridger, where it rejoined the old Overland trail. The road was first opened by Company A of the Eleventh Ohio cavalry, under Major O'Farrell, in 1862. This second road increased vastly the labors of the garrisons at the already inadequate posts, as the "bloody year on the plains," 1865, bore witness. (C. G. Coutant, *History of Wyoming* (1899), p. 386.)

nearly in the shape of a chimney and can be seen for many miles either way.

May 6—Passed Scott's Bluff,¹⁴ the line, I think, between Nebraska and Idaho. [Yes; but now, of course, Wyoming.—*M. E. H.*] The bluffs are almost perpendicular and partly covered with pines; look almost like mountains.

May 7—Raining. Shot at a drove of snipes. Camp on North branch. Twenty-five miles today.

May 8—We are met and stopped four miles from Fort Laramie by the doctors and officers; afraid of smallpox. We are quarantined and camp on the Platte. Not a good place; too sandy. Cottonwood grove. Indians near. Draw tents. Go over to the river and wash and change clothes for the first time in three weeks. Officers down from the fort. Saw Capt. Reinhart. Rations sent down for us.

May 9—Our mess get a wagon and go after cedar to carpet our tent. Went up on the bluffs and saw where the Indians had fixed up smoking tobacco over an old grave by sticking a number of sticks in the ground, each bearing a little rag full of tobacco. We draw soft bread; very good after so muchhardtack.

May 10—Warm. Behymer and Curtis got a good pile of fish with a seine. I helped prepare them. Had a splendid supper. The band came down from the fort and played for us. We cheered them in return. Roll call. Lt. Wright introduced Col. Collins, who made a few remarks and announced a victory in Virginia. Lee is in full retreat with Grant in pursuit. The colonel gave three cheers for our Union, which were given with a will. I never felt so much like cheering in my life. Lt. Wright proposed three cheers for our colonel, which were given. Then we gave three for the Lieutenant.

May 15—Cox, Grim, and I crossed the river in a skiff.

V. AT FORT LARAMIE

May 16—Left Camp Underhill. Shot a wolf; caught a viper. Wagons go around over the bluffs. We marched up the river through a wild, shady place. Take off our hats partly in reverence and partly to enjoy the refreshing air. Camp again moved to be nearer the fort. Camp on the Laramie below the bridge. Doctor Hitz

14. Scott's Bluff, a famous landmark on the Nebraska line. Captain Bonneville, who passed this point in 1832, makes this explanation of the origin of the name: "A number of years since, a party were descending the upper part of the river in canoes, when their frail barks were overturned and all their powder spoiled. Their rifles being thus rendered useless, they were unable to procure food by hunting and had to depend upon roots and wild fruits for subsistence. After suffering extremely from hunger, they arrived at Laramie fork, a small tributary of the north branch of the Nebraska, about sixty miles above the cliffs just mentioned." According to Bonneville, one of the party, Scott, became ill and unable to travel. His companions, anxious to overtake another party, left him to his fate. Scott crawled sixty miles, and died at the bluffs which now bear his name. (*Ibid.*, p. 149.)

made a farewell address at retreat, congratulating us on our safe arrival across the plains, and our good feeling, good health, good commander, etc. saying he is sorry to leave us after our short acquaintance.

May 17—Dr. Hitz and the Swiss captain left us this morning for Laramie peak. Camp Collins. Daily round of camp life, the same for several days. Lt. Apt and Lt. Humfreville are to take charge in the morning.

May 25—Broke up camp and moved up to the fort,¹⁵ where Lt. Apt's company go into barracks lettered Co. I. Our company under Lt. Humfreville stops in tents on parade ground, lettered Co. K. A squad of Greenfield boys going to Bannock. Company K now consists of 85 men. Half the company are on half duty or detached service. Five men are detailed from the company to help with a new road in the Black Hills, Adams, Franklin, Caldwell, and Grim to be gone ten days. Old companies gone or going. Indians causing trouble up the road, stealing stock. Killed one white man and shot another in six places, a man named Foote. Co. H going after them. Moved into quarters, better than tents.

May 30—Lt. Wright left us today.

June 12—Sunday. Very busy writing letters. Divine services in the library. Attended the first time for three months. Not many present.

June 13—A little skirmish above here five miles. The Indians came back, it was thought for the purpose of killing Foote. He shot one named Bob Smoke, but did not kill him. Bob was brought to

15. According to C. G. Coutant, *ibid.*, p. 296, "Fort Laramie, the first garrisoned post located in Wyoming, has clustered about it more historic incidents than any other military spot in the West. From first to last, the reminiscences of this fortified camp are full of tragedy, and these stories . . . would fill numerous volumes." The fort was named for Jacques Laramie, a famous French Canadian fur trader and trapper, who was killed by Indians about 1820. The first fort was erected on the left bank of the Laramie a half mile above its junction with the North Platte, in 1834, by Robert Campbell and Capt. William Sublette. It was called at first Fort William and was the first permanent settlement in what is now Wyoming. It was purchased by Milton Sublette and Jim Bridger in 1835, and soon, under the American Fur Company, controlled the fur trade in Wyoming. In 1849, it became a military post.

Fort Laramie was in the center of a military reserve of nearly 5,000 acres, which extended five miles in each direction from the center of the post.

Maj. W. H. Evans of the Eleventh Ohio cavalry volunteers, post headquarters, Fort Laramie, D. T., May 21, 1866, reports: "One very important duty devolves upon the commanding officer of this post: that of establishing and maintaining proper control over the Indians, who are around the post to the number of 5,000 warriors and 20,000 souls, including women and children. They are now perfectly peaceable, and it is expected and hoped that the treaty soon to be made will secure a lasting and permanent peace. With the great number of persons who now annually cross the plains and pass this post, it is highly important that it should be kept in a strong condition . . . and be always defended by a sufficient garrison." (Report in the *Annals of Wyoming*, published by the State Department of History, Cheyenne, Wyo., January, 1933.)

As evidenced by various authorities and by the diary of L. B. Hull, Fort Laramie was the central post from which were sent out most of the important scouting parties and military expeditions during the sixties; and it was the chief haven of refuge for emigrant trains, Overland mail coaches, and all of the vast throng passing over the Oregon and Overland trails.

the hospital and will likely die; shot in the stomach, ball lodged in the back ribs. Two other Indians shot, one killed.

June 14—One of the Smokes killed 25 miles above by the Utahs.

June 15—Mail sent up to Co. A and G. Emigrants plenty in camp. Concert tonight.

June 17—False reports that Utahs are two and a half miles above, trying to steal stock. Boys went out about midnight. No sign of Utahs. Major Converse and three others started for Ohio in a skiff.

June 18—Windy. Quite a storm of dust. Boys came in from Black Hills a little after midnight. Had camped out, but Utahs being about and ammunition being scarce, they concluded to come on in. I went out in the morning and gathered some nice bouquets. Out again this evening. Found some cactus in bloom, very nice. Five months ago tonight where was I? Not here, no. I did not then think of being so far away from home by this time. Happy, happy was the night! When will I again enjoy the precious privilege of meeting friends so dear? In years to come, if life is given, but O, so long it seems! Tempus fugit. The time will come.

June 19—Beautiful sunset scene. Rain in evening.

June 20—Wip and I went over the river. Emigrants lining the road. Had a splendid dinner when we got back; roast beef, dried apples, and brandy pudding. Excellent. Better than soldiers can generally boast of.

June 23—More recruits came up, making the number 90.

June 24—Heavy rain and hail last night; cool and pleasant today. Drill hours changed on account of heat. Drilled in evening and then went swimming.

June 25—Martin and I got a mounted pass and went down to the ranche. Very warm and ponies very mean. Bad wind storm.

June 27—Uncle Doc and Al Hull¹⁶ passed through here. I went over the river with Al and stayed all night. Mail came in this morning.

June 30—Company and general inspection; review and muster for pay. Quarter master department changing hands.

July 2—A heavy storm during the night blew our pine down and overturned several chimneys.

July 3—Finishing the arbor again, making wreaths and decorating the rooms for the Fourth. Arrest of some emigrants for making a disturbance.

16. "Al" Hull was later the Hon. J. A. T. Hull, congressman from Iowa.

July 4—The 88th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the day when every American heart should swell with pride and gratitude toward those noble men who gave their all to establish a free and independent government as an inheritance for future generations. Little did they think that there would be millions at this day trying to overthrow and destroy the fruits of that seven years of toil and blood; but so it is. May they not succeed, is our daily wish.

A salute of fifty guns was fired at noon; then we had a splendid dinner: roast beef, veal, mutton tongue, pies, cake, etc. Table neatly spread and decorated with wreaths and ornamental cake stands. The officers were invited to dinner with us, but having mess dinner of their own, none but the officer of the day, Lieut. Pettijohn, responded. Officers and ladies visited our quarters and praised our taste very highly. Quite nice, a spread eagle of cedar in each room and one at the top of the arbor.

Boys were very busy putting up seats and canvas for the performance tonight.¹⁷ Copied programmes. Great rush around the door. Seats crowded. Performance good, consisting of pantomime, burlesque, songs, etc. Salute of fifteen guns fired after eleven. Fine sight.

July 7—Acting secretary for the minstrels. Weather quite cool

17. These "Laramie Varieties" must have been colorful entertainments. There seems to have been a good military band at the fort, with several soloists. Also there was a melodeon. One wonders how it happened to be there, perhaps to please some army officer's wife. Among the soldiers were good singers, who no doubt sang some of the popular airs, such as "Lilly Dale," "Bonny Eloise," and "In the Hazel Dell," as well as patriotic songs, such as "A Shout for Our Banner." Several of the medleys then popular are still preserved in the Hull family. Then, too, there were numerous comic war songs, such as "Our Jamie Has Gone to Live in a Tent," as well as the more sentimental ones. Among the parodies on the latter type was one which probably originated at Fort Laramie. Eliza Sinclair (the "Lide" of the diary) was singing at home, in Ohio, the sentimental song:

"Dearest love, do you remember when we last did meet,
How you told me that you loved me, kneeling at my feet?
Oh, how proud you stood before me, in your suit of blue,
When you vowed to me and country ever to be true!
Weeping sad and lonely,
Hopes and fears how vain, yet praying
When this cruel War is over,
We shall meet again."

But after seven hundred miles of marching, L. B. Hull was singing the parody:

"Dearest love, do you remember when we marched away,
With our guns upon our shoulders, looking neat and gay?
Now the shining regiments all in rags appear,
Rags and tatters all about us; awful times out here!
Weeping sad and lonely;
I'm homesick now, I fear.
I'd give my bounty for a substitute
To take my place out here!"

The singing of parodies was not confined to the "Varieties." Upon one occasion, after the commissary had received a consignment of particularly tough beef, the boys spirited it away, and out on the plains they buried it with much pomp, singing the hymn:

"Ye living bulls (souls), come view the ground,
Where ye must shortly lie!"

(N. B. The information in this note and in several others is supplied from recollections of the diarist's children as we gathered about the fireside in the long winter evenings of pioneer days to listen to the stories of L. B. Hull and his brother-in-law, Tom Sinclair, of the years on the plains, while Mrs. L. B. Hull supplemented the accounts with what went on at home in Ohio during the dark days of the sixties.—M. E. H.)

for July. Boys getting ready for another performance tonight. Better fixed than before; seats raised. Admittance, front seats, 50 cents, back 25 and 15. Sold tickets. Show good. Took in \$107.

July 9—Colonel pleased with results; says there must be another show tomorrow night. Paymaster here. Finishing payrolls; none to be mustered as veterans.

July 10—Mail in. Letter from Mae [Marian Kelley]. Paid off in evening. Six of us received the veterans' bounty, an order having been received from the adjutant general. Paid from date of enlistment up to the present time after deducting advance pay. Received \$100, \$50 bounty, and \$13 a month regular pay, the paymaster not having received an order to pay me \$16 a month.

Another entertainment last night. Some disorder caused by there being too much whiskey on hand; some of the performers the worse for it.

July 13—Dispatches received from up the road that the Indians are killing the emigrants at different places. Company E and some men from Company I, and twelve men from Company K and two pieces of artillery sent up. General Mitchell is expected in a few days. An escort going to meet him tomorrow. News from down the road that there is trouble with the Indians. Mr. Lorey writes from the agency that the place will probably be attacked tonight by a large body of Missouri Sioux, each with a hundred warriors. Considerable excitement. Sitting up late writing and waiting for news.

July 14—Still excitement. Gen. Mitchell telegraphs to send no escort. Herds to be brought in at night and strongly guarded. Two of Co. A sent with a dispatch.

July 15—No Indians around here yet. A dispatch from Fickland¹⁸ that Indians attacked that place and that there are 60 or 70 emigrants corralled there. Think they can hold out until reënforcements arrive from here. Co. B gone down to help them through. Co. A men report a large body of hostile Indians advancing in this direction.

July 16—No news; apprehensions beginning to abate.

July 19—Croughan and Woods went out with the mail as far as Mud Springs. Going to stay there awhile.

July 20—Heavy rain.

July 21—Detailed for guard. Row at taps; took one man to the guard house.

July 22—Remainder of government train came in from below.

18. *Fickland* is also spelled *Ficklin* in the diary.

Two deserters from Co. I last night, Carter and Baker. Took Grace, Co. I, to the guard house for making a disturbance.

July 23—Dispatch received that Lieut. Brown, Co. E, was killed in a charge on the Indians over near Powder river; his body shot full of arrows and scalped.

July 24—Co. B going over on the Rawhide after a party of Indians.

July 25—Co. B came back, having taken one scalp.

A detail of 15 men of Co. K to go over on Rawhide to bring in what plunder was left at the Indian camp. I thought I would go along. Sergeant Channel, Co. B, took charge. Two other Co. B boys with us; all on ponies. Started at three o'clock. Two ponies gave out at Beauvais, leaving our party at sixteen. At Bordeaux we were joined by two Indians. Crossed the Platte without accident a mile below the ranche. Struck a northeast direction and in about seven miles came to where the dead Indian was. Found several old saddles, lariat ropes, robes, paint, and other Indian paraphernalia. A dead one lay in the sun scalped. Our Indians took what they wanted and we fired what remained, then struck for the river. Reached it at sunset, crossing where it was deep and swift. Two B boys got set off; got a complete ducking. Had some milk and biscuits at the ranche and came on up to the fort, arriving after 11 o'clock. Several ponies tired out. Mine fell with me; no damage done though.

July 26—Reported fight on Upper Platte bridge. Several Indians killed. Detailed for guard, but as I was tired, Corporal Martin took my place.

July 27—Gen. Mitchell came in from Kearney with an escort of 7th Iowa. Salute of seven guns fired in honor of his arrival. Agent in. Says it was a friendly Sioux that Co. B killed. Indians talking of revenge. Mail in; received six letters and two papers.

July 29—Boys came in from scouting. Reeshaw says the fighting is a humbug. Change reported in this department; Maj. Wood to command the post. Lieut. Reeves to be inspector general in the department. Salute of 13 guns fired before tattoo. Was ordered to help. Don't know what it was for.

July 30—Went out riding ten miles up the river. Stopped at a train. Had dinner of peaches, sardines, crackers, and pickles. Went across to the Laramie, where Co. B had camped for the night. Boys came in from the scout. Lieut. Brown dead; shot with two arrows, one in the back and one in the neck. Lived till morning.

July 31—Heavy wind. Very dusty. Provosts brought in some prisoners; arrested one man for raising a row. Patton, Co. G, shot accidentally, thought to be mortally.

August 1—Busy all day making out monthly returns and clothing requisitions. Co. H gone down the road. Iowa boys moving into their quarters.

August 2—Ladies in camp.

August 3—Coe, Gibson, and myself got a pass and went up the river. Got all the currants we could eat. Came back and stopped at a train. Got a pressing invitation to take dinner with some ladies but declined. Made the acquaintance of some ladies from Missouri; had a pleasant talk and found them educated and refined. Sergt. Weaver bought a jug of molasses and sent it down in the hay wagon. Gibson left his pony for Settle. It broke loose; could not catch it. I came to camp and got a pass for Charlie and me till ten o'clock to bring in the pony. It was here before we started, but we went up to the train anyway, Scott with us, and got picked up by the patrol. We were reported to the Lieutenant, and Scott reduced to the ranks. We were ordered to quarters.

August 4—Gen. Mitchell and Dr. Hitz and Mrs. Collins started for the States. Mrs. Collins took Flora Schneider with her to give her an education; a prairie flower for sure.

August 5—Mail went out early. Indians stole part of the Quarter Master herd a mile above the fort. De Rush came in to give information. Iowa boys sent out immediately.

Attack on a train at Star ranch. One man seriously wounded. Five boys of Co. K detailed to go with the ambulance for the man.

August 6—Boys came in during the night with the wounded man. The Indians got off with the stock. They were close on to the Indians, but from some cause they did not overtake them. Stable call. Order for twelve men to be equipped for scouting, ready at any time. Grasshoppers by the myriad in the air, eating everything up—destroying the garden. Detail of eight men and Corp. Curtis for artillery drill.

August 8—Sunday. Inspection by Maj. Wood and Maj. Underhill. Co. K ahead in neatness. Corp. Martin and two privates sent down to the agency. 13 men transferred, 7 to Co. E and 6 to Co. H, leaving 71 yet in Co. K, with a fair prospect of being permanently organized. Col. Collins and escort started this evening for Cache la Poudre. Caldwell, Hutchinson, Keating, Burns, and Tubbs gone.

August 9—Mail came in last night after dark. Received six let-

ters and two papers. An alarm of Indians crossing four miles above late last evening.

August 11—Go to sick call and get my regular ration of quinine. Alarm of Indians at the herd. Iowa boys went out. They proved to be a war party of 150 Utes after the Sioux but friendly to us. Sutler's train came up at last.

August 12—Hewett's camp destroyed and everything stolen by Indians.

August 13—Windy—dust and sand. Returned to duty this morning. Back still weak and feel out of order. Mail in; received six letters and two papers.

August 14—Inspection at 10 o'clock; dress parade at sunset. A multiplicity of orders read. Three prisoners escape from guard while bathing. Clifford of Co. B brought in in irons. Five men detailed to go up the river.

August 15—Alarm last night; pickets firing. All get up, but nothing to pay as the alarm was without cause. Departure of mail postponed. Church down from the sawmill. Prisoners brought in by Pierson, who caught them up near his herd.

August 16—Made up ordnance returns for the first quarter of 1864.¹⁹ Opened a considerable sutler's account, \$8 worth of paper and a pair of suspenders. Old Maj. Bridger is in Fort Meguire badly hurt by being thrown from a pony. Sent to the hospital. Nichols, Co. H, gone deranged.

August 17—Inspector Reeves back. Corp. Brown and Wheeler, Stephenson, and Gibson are gone to the sawmill.

August 18—Mail leaves this morning. Lieut. Humfreville goes with it, being ordered to Kearney, probably to bring up the balance of the recruits, leaving Sergt. Brown in charge of Co. K. Inspection is over, a regular bore. Had to lead the ponies out and stand in the rain for two hours. We were an interesting outfit and worth looking at, too. Report of hard fighting at Atlanta and Petersburg. Overland company drawing off the mail coaches. Poor prospect for mail. Don't know what we will do. Will be rather lonesome.

August 19, 1864—Capt. Koehne, Sergt. Patton, and one of the Co. A men came down yesterday. They report new silver and gold leads discovered near Deer creek and South Pass. Went with Lee to hunt horses. Struck directly back from the Platte for about seven miles, when we struck the trail and followed it three miles, lost it, and went over on Rawhide, 15 miles from the fort, then up the creek two or

19. Hull is evidently acting as quartermaster sergeant.

three miles, then home. The country is rough and broken with large sand hills. Along the creek is a little timber and plenty of berries. Drank water from a wolf hole. Got back just before retreat. Nothing to eat since breakfast.

August 20—Spent a part of the day in the reading room. A good letter from Mae, such as I like. Overland route closed until road is better protected.

August 21—Sunday. Inspection at nine. All go out on parade ground. Had to open our jackets and show shirts; a new inspection, but a good idea. Sutler's train starting east. O'Brien's company go along as escort. Indians getting troublesome.

August 22—Pickets fired during night; no cause for it. Lieut. Collins is here. Feast on raisins, nuts, lemonade. Four of the boys have gone down to the agency. Brown and the other boys back from the sawmill.

August 23—Early reveille. Odell gone to Sweetwater with a team. Camp full of Indians.

[Five pages of the diary missing.]

Sept. 5— . . . Nature seems holy. No outward noise but the distant howl of the wolf. Keeler up from Mud Springs. Too much drunkenness in the company tonight.

Sept. 6—Made another receipt roll.

Sept. 7—Charlie and I went fishing. Caught nothing, but killed a rattlesnake. Tore up the house and threw it out of the window. Glorious time killing bedbugs. Smoked the room full of brimstone. Charlie and I move in together. . . . The escaped prisoners brought in. They tell a hard tale of starving and eating grasshoppers.

Sept. 8—Nothing said about the mail leaving. Postponed indefinitely. Odell back from Sweetwater. I drew a free suit of clothing from the overplus.

Sept. 10—Played barber part of evening. Wood-pile burned through Tyler's carelessness in building fire.

Sept. 11—Sunday. Morning inspection by Capt. Fouts. Quarters pronounced in fine order. Circular sent round that the mail will leave tomorrow. Excitement caused by seeing something out on the bluffs west of the fort. Thought to be Indians. Co. D of the 7th sent out to learn what is up. Hewett sent to the guard house drunk. Had a large musk melon, good. Got a box to keep my clothes in; cost only \$5. Mail went out before daylight. It is said that the

ambulance will have to go to Kearney and that we will not receive any mail for 18 days.

Sept. 13—Two years ago this morning I went on picket duty for the last time in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, when there was a picket skirmish and a fight on Bolivar Heights. Our men were driven back across the river.²⁰ No news; very dull. Col. Collins came in late this morning.

Sept. 14—Built a fire in the stove again. Opened the barber shop and shaved several. Colonel's escort came in; had a good time hunting, having killed buffalo, elk, and deer. Went fishing with Charlie Bolton²¹ and caught half a dozen frogs and ate two for supper. Like them; good and sweet. Sergt. Merwin of Co. D down. Too much whiskey again. Played the violin till tattoo.

Sept. 15—Inspection by Lieut. Reeves. Marched down in the bottom and were inspected. Co. I and K drilled on the parade. Our company did splendidly. Nine Co. K ponies condemned.

Beautiful night, calm, clear; moonshiny and pleasant. The full moon makes it almost as light as day. What is more calmly beautiful than September moonlight? All is quiet, and nature's million voices are hushed into quiet, peaceful repose. What a happy world it would be could man's existence be as peaceful and he sink to rest like the moon's going down!

A great difference between tonight and two years ago. Then I was lying on the Bolivar heights above Harper's Ferry, a prisoner, surrounded by dirty rebels, not knowing what was in store for us. But all came out well.

Sept. 16—Rumor that Mitchell's force has divided and a part is coming this way.

Sept. 18—Sunday. Stable call about "winked out": not much attention paid to it. Inspection at half past nine. Our company in good order. Sleep and read the balance of the day.

Sept. 19—with Burt and Behymer I got a pass and went out to the woodyard for plums. Went out to the hills but missed the orchard. Came back on the creek and ate our dinner of sardines, crackers, raisins, and pineapples. Stopped at the camp and fed our horses. Got back to the fort before sunset. Went over some very rough country; hills rocky, the rocks edged in together, making it

20. Cf. Note 1.

21. C. R. O. (Charlie) Bolton was an intimate friend of Hull. He was a young Canadian, a musician who had been presented a silver bugle by Queen Victoria's own hands. Once to relieve the monotony of camp routine, Hull sent Bolton to a superior officer with a sealed note. The officer read it, sealed it again, and sent him to another officer. This procedure continued until Bolton, becoming suspicious, opened the note and read: "Pass the fool along!" Bolton returned and sticking his head into Hull's tent, shouted, "Ull, go to 'ell!"

appear more like a work of art than nature. Provosts returned, bringing thirteen of Co. G under guard, charged with stealing shirts and boots from emigrant traders.

Sept. 20—Lieut. Wilcox, mustering officer, here. Co. G men all released but five, who are still in the guard house. Considerable whiskey about. Dance in Co. I's kitchen. Four women present, nearly all drunk. Hewett dressed in women's clothes and went with Dr. Dryden. Dance broke up in an uproar.²²

Sept. 21—No sergeant nor corporal at stable call. Co. G gone back to Deer creek. Mail going out again in a few days.

Sept. 23—Busy all day making out enlistment papers for Lee and Hewett and reënlistment rolls for Co. A men.

Sept. 24—Finish muster-in papers. Run "barber shop" in the evening.

Sept. 25—The usual Sunday morning inspection. Lieut. Wilcox left, the mail going at the same time. Col. Collins gone to Cache La Poudre. Weir with him. . . . Heard yesterday of Sheridan's victory, Fremont's withdrawal, and that peace negotiations are going forward.

Co. K's pantry and kitchen arrangements in good shape. Splendid dinner, something like living. Post going down rapidly.

Sept. 26—Mail said to be at Cottonwood, laying over on account of sickness in the Major's family.

Second anniversary of our arrival at Camp Douglas (Chicago). Would not object to being there now. Evening dark and gloomy. Iowa company relieved from duty. Mobile taken. Good news coming rapidly.

Sept. 27—Co. D of the 7th are getting ready to start for Halleck.

Sept. 28—Upward mail at Julesburg. Look for it Saturday. Dispatch from Humfreville, saying that he was back at Kearney and would start up in a few days. Alarm a little after dark; pickets firing. "Boots and saddles" sounds, and Co. K falls in for battle. Twenty men sent out to see what is up. We run all over the bluffs and at last divide off into squads to hunt the pickets. Find them in a ravine, apparently asleep. They had not fired a shot nor heard

22. Charlie Adams, in his *Reminiscence*, speaks of one of these Fort Laramie "drunks": "When the boys were getting boisterous and some crazy, I did not feel safe in the quarters, where there were so many guns and revolvers. So I went to the stables but found it no better there. I then thought I would go up on mechanics row to the barber shop and stay with our company barber. I went to the door, but found it locked. I went around to a back window and opened it so I could look in, and the room looked like a small cyclone had been turned loose in there: razors, brushes, towels, pictures from the walls, were scattered all over the floor, and the barber was lying in his chair almost too full for utterance. I asked him what was the matter. He said, 'There's nothing the matter with me, but this room has been on an awful tear.'"

one; so we saw there was nothing to do but come back and report to Major Wood, who said he heard firing distinctly. All a hoax. Came to quarters and went to bed.

Sept. 29—Beautiful morning, clear and cool, with only a little frost. Only two out for roll call. Wip and I took a ride and went about seven miles up the Laramie. Looked for grapes but found none.

Sept. 30—Caldwell first relief, Brant second, and myself third. Came in soon after daylight, finding a new pair of boots on the way. Sergt. Hoover of Co. A down.

Good news from Virginia; Sheridan following up his advance. Also a success near Richmond, but this is conterbalanced by the news from Missouri. Price at the head of a large army, murdering all the Union men they can catch in the state.

Oct. 1—Some appearance of winter, and no preparations being made for it. No wood here, and little prospect of a sufficient supply.

Oct. 2—Sunday morning inspection. Affray last night at Bordeaux' ranche. Smith, a mountaineer, attacks Bordeaux and attempts his life. The latter in self-defense shoots the former, killing him, then comes to the fort and gives himself up. Camp out of wood. Help haul and chop some, tho it is Sunday. Feel lonesome, and almost have the "blues." Will read over some old letters as there are no new ones to occupy my attention. Eight months in the service, and all is well yet.

Oct. 3—A ball in the reading room. Some quarreling.

Oct. 4—Made out the clothing requisition and as Sergt. Burt was sick I issued it. Mail team has given out below Bordeaux'. Wip takes a team and goes down to help them in. Mail arrives after dark; four sacks. Will not get it before morning. Maj. Wood's family came up with the mail. Boys very anxious to get the news. Got ten letters; hear much bad news of old friends dying, being killed or wounded. Receive three letters from Marian in which are her photo, her mother's, some very bad news, and a ring. Will have to bid her farewell forever. It is a hard task but must be accomplished. Will try to forget her.²³ Received a good letter from Lide. A good girl, truly.

Oct. 5—Finish the returns. Not in a state of mind to do business. Commence a letter to Marie. Write till midnight.

23. L. B. Hull enlisted in the Army of the West against the protest of Marian Kelly, who wished him to stay at home that they might be married. He, however, was not ready to settle down. In October, 1866, after he returned to Ohio, he married Eliza Sinclair, the "Lide" of the diary. Many years later, in their pioneer Kansas farm home, she used to pore over this portion of the diary, and much to her children's amusement, wax indignant over Marian's cruelty in marrying some one else!

Oct. 6—Co. K evacuate the stables and take old Co. D's stables. Dance at the band room. Invited to attend. Sergt. Patton here.

Oct. 7—Dance broke up before midnight. Six women present. Danced two sets. Too much whiskey entirely, the greatest drawback to a good party. Sergt. Brown received a dispatch from Lieut. Humfreville. He is at Mud Springs and will be here in three days. Good! Will be glad to see him. Finished my last letter to Marian, —ten pages filled—bidding her a last farewell. Hard to say the word. Co. D came in, some of them on a drunk. I scrubbed out the room and cleaned everything up. Co. A now attached to Co. K, now about half the company.

Oct. 9—Lieut. Humfreville arrived after dark. Glad to see him looking so well. He left the boys at Ficklin's. Sixty horses taken up; good, if we only get to keep them! Chryst ordered to take charge of the provisions at the corn pile. Sergt. Brown very sick with bilious colic. I stayed up the greater part of the night. Went for the doctor at one o'clock. Lay down on the floor then and slept till daylight. A light mail came in today. Don't know where the heavy mail is. We are to have 61 more horses.

Oct. 11—Turn in the ponies, but take them back to the stable to brand. Col. Collins and Maj. Underhill back at the fort. Brown still sick. Made him toast for supper. Chryst is ordered to take charge of the prisoners at the corn pile. Co. A at Star ranche. The band came to life; gave a serenade after taps. Beautiful night, pleasant and moonshiny. Got up to listen to the music. Good! Sleep in the orderly room, to be close if Brown is worse. Recruits arrive and camp back of headquarters. Band goes out and escorts Co. A in. Sergt. Brown better. Sixteen of the recruits attached to Co. K; more attached to Co. I. Election for company officers held in Co. I. Lieut. Apt elected captain. No opposition. Sergt. Maloney elected second lieutenant.

Oct. 13—Co. K holds election: Humfreville, captain; Sergt. Behymer, second lieutenant; Brown and Applegate, judges; Hull and Morrow, clerks. The boys carry the new captain to the store and make him treat to a box of bitters. As a natural consequence, half the company drunk. A few fights. Everybody apparently pleased with the election. Odell comes into Co. K. Freeman gets away from the guard, takes a horse, and leaves. Boyer, riding over the parade grounds, ordered under arrest; he runs, and is shot at twice. Rice and Humfreville go after him, bringing him back tied

to his horse. A general drunk this evening; am perfectly disgusted with it.

Oct. 14—Mail goes east. Co. A men ordered to their company.

Oct. 15—Make out QM accounts for August. Order for Brown and Behymer to do duty as lieutenants. Horses issued to Co. K. Did not want to go to stables as I was busy. Captain chose a horse for me. Like him passably well. Went to stable call and got back just as bugle sounded for parade: Capt. Apt, sergeant; Lieut. Harland, officer of the day. Too much on hand for a half hour. I help issue clothing and wind up for the evening by copying letters organizing Co. K. Dance at band room breaks up in a row. Welsh and his wife part.

Oct. 16—Sunday. Inspection. Lieut. Brown officer of the day. Wedding “down street.” Sergt. Cummings to Miss — —. The band serenades them. Music sounds very well; night still and moonlit.

Oct. 17—Behymer officer of the day for the first time. Orders for drill twice a day, in the morning mounted and in the evening on foot. Mounted drill for the first time. When will be the last? That is more than can be told by any of us. Men drill very well. My horse full of life; can hardly manage him at times. Brown moves to new quarters; seems like breaking up a family. Captain told me to act as orderly sergeant today, perhaps henceforth. Hardly time to get ready for dress parade. I have the company fall in and act as orderly for the first time.

Oct. 18—Mounted drill in the morning; on foot in the evening. Rode the captain’s horse, my own too lively. Dress parade. Flor- entine and Mack ordered under arrest on account of absence. Flor- entine released to go on guard tomorrow. Fill out descriptive rolls and clothing accounts until bedtime.

Oct. 19—Very windy; neither drill nor dress parade today. So dusty that one can’t see—almost enough to choke a person.

Oct. 20—Drill mounted at the trot gives a good appetite for dinner. Poor turnout at evening drill. Wedding “down street”: Sergt. Schnyder to cross-eyed Julia. Band serenades them. Big supper. Must be going to have a cold winter as weddings are all the rage.

Oct. 21—Col. Collins out to see us drill. Provoked at some of the men. Orderly’s position not an easy one. Can begin to see through the press of business.

Oct. 22—Mail came in today, two sacks. Received seven letters. Orders read for a salute of 15 guns to be fired in honor of Sheridan’s

victory. Face to the south in the rear of guns while firing is going on.

Oct. 23—The usual inspection of men and horses. The major was complimentary to our neat stables.

Oct. 24—Weather hazy, like Indian summer. Dress parade. Sergt. Tom Sinclair²⁴ and myself called to the front of the column. Major ordered two men of Co. D and one of Co. K to stand at attention for 15 minutes after companies left parade, because of non-attention.

Laramie "Varieties" perform tonight: I act as cashier and ticket agent. Take in \$93, then go in to the performance. Better than before; not quite so much whiskey. Splendid music: violin, guitar, melodeon, and brass band. The best playing on the melodeon I have ever heard; Mr. Raymond from Salt Lake.

Oct. 25—Commence the pay and muster rolls. Dress parade; two absent; I am ordered to send them to the guard house. Don't like the business but it must be done. Hard for men who work all day to attend parade.

Oct. 27—Nearly all the company on detail: Odell's horse fell dead with him, hurting him considerably. Drill at the gallop. Men busy repairing fireplaces. Haul wood from the hills. Boys fix up for concert by Prof. Raymond. Promotion of Sinclair and Patton read on parade. \$80 taken in at the concert. The money is going toward furnishing the reading room with papers for winter reading. Night clear; beautiful starlight; myriads of stars.

Oct. 28—Co. A veterans start for the States with three cheers for Ohio. They will see some rough weather before they get to Leavenworth.

Oct. 29—No drill today; policing to do. Mail started out, Lieut. Williams with it, also Tallman, who is going to Omaha to clerk. Orders read for general inspection tomorrow; everybody to come out. Draw stable frocks for the company.

Oct. 30—Sunday. Battalion drill; do rather poorly; too windy to hear the commands; Lieut. Brown acting adjutant. Company drill afterwards. Go to stables, carry out all the saddles, and then lead out all the horses in line. Reeves, inspector. Maj. Wood says that

24. Thomas Corwin Sinclair, brother of Eliza Sinclair Hull, was born in Highland county, Ohio, September 17, 1848. When fifteen years of age he enlisted in Co. G, 11th Ohio volunteer cavalry, and served through the Indian campaigns as an intrepid fighter. After an honorable discharge, he returned to Ohio. He came to Kansas in the early seventies and preempted a claim near Rose Hill, a half mile from the Hull homestead. He married Hattie Hostetler in 1881. They pioneered also in Oklahoma, where he was killed, in 1911, by a falling tree. (*Cf.* Note 39.)

quarters are clean and look well. Have to make out new pay rolls; first one torn up by a dog; rather bad joke.

Oct. 31—Snows all day and still snowing after taps. Looks very much like winter. Muster for pay; 58 of Co. K on hand. Telegraphic dispatches from adjutant general of Ohio state that our officers have this day been commissioned. This will quiet the complainers. Old non-commissioned staff very much dissatisfied with the election. Think they should be officers. Three years today since my first enlistment. Then I thought the war would close before a year, but still the strife goes on.

Nov. 2—Some signs of mutiny. The non-commissioned staff and companies A and D want to go home. They send in a remonstrance to the colonel demanding that they be sent home, or they will take the matter into their own hands and go.²⁵

Nov. 3—No mounted drill, but every one to turn out on foot. Issue cartridges to all. Drill until time for recall, but none comes. Stay out till noon, when we learn that we are kept out under arms to prevent mutiny in old companies. Old sergeants under arrest. Go to water just before dinner. No evening drill, but dress parade earlier than usual. Orders read containing sentence of Sergt. Eldrid of Co. B. He was publicly reprimanded before the battalion and sent to his company.

Nov. 4—Mounted drill at the gallop. Dissatisfied men willing to let their remonstrance slide. They did not expect that the matter would prove so serious.

Nov. 5—Owing to commissary clerk's error we have no beef today. Lieut. Brown and Fish arrive from Halleck. Report snow three feet deep in the mountains.

Nov. 18—Been sick for two weeks; not able to do any duty. Bad cold and mountain fever. Took quinine until I was tired of it and quit off and am getting well.

A few nights ago the boys gave an entertainment for the Indians who came to see the colonel. While it was going on, the orderly room caught or was set on fire and came very near burning down. Our sabre belts were burned and company papers damaged. Co. K ordered to Halleck, to start tomorrow; Florentine to be orderly, me commissary sergeant. Capts. Humfreville and Apt are gone to Denver to get money to pay companies. Martin in hospital.

25. Often defection and desertions among the soldiers on the plains were due to the fact that Southern sympathizers from Missouri and other border states, who had enlisted in the Indian campaigns to avoid being drafted for service against the South, stirred up mutinies. (*Cf. item for May 7, 1865.*)

Nov. 19—I conclude to risk the trip to Halleck and see if it will cure me. Help pack up and draw rations. Company starts about ten o'clock, leaving all the cooking utensils to be packed up. Only have three wagons started at about 11; seventeen of the boys left behind on daily duty as escort for the captain. Moved out 19 miles and camped on the Laramie. Weather cold for camping out without tents.

VI. FORT LARAMIE TO FORT HALLECK

Nov. 20—Arise at four and have breakfast and are ready to start by daylight. A sprinkle of snow during the night, not enough to hinder our sleeping well. March 30 miles and camp on the Sabeal. McFaddin and I go on ahead to hunt. See deer and antelope. Had six shots but killed nothing. Traveled over some nice country.

Nov. 21—March twelve miles and camp in the canon, a pass in the mountains, where the rocks on one side are five hundred feet high. Four of us scrape away about a foot of snow and make our beds together and roll pine logs from the mountains and build a big fire, then cut brush for a shelter from the wind, which is very strong. Wip and I went hunting back of the rock. Saw 16 deer and each took a running shot. Have a great time getting down to camp, jumping and sliding in drift and out. Saw some signs of bears.

Nov. 22—The eight supply teams went ahead yesterday and camped on the Laramie river. Hard work getting teams up out of the canon. Have to hitch ten mules to a wagon. Company pass on, leaving some men behind. March 30 miles over a high rolling prairie on a level with the first range of the Laramie mountains. Weather very cold, with a strong wind. Overtake the foremost team and camp on Rock creek. Not a stick of timber in sight. Shovel away snow for a bedroom. Our company teams not in till dark. Camp behind a bank where the wind is not so strong.

Nov. 23—Lieut. Brown and Florentine go on to Halleck. Begin to get into rough country again. See a herd of deer on rocks. Boys try to shoot them but give it up. March 26 miles and camp on Medicine Bow creek in a nice grove. Snow eight inches deep. Lieut. Behymer, Keating, and I go hunting over the bluffs. I get two shots at a deer and break its leg. Go to camp and get my horse, and McFaddin and I follow the deer but to no purpose. Get three more shots at a deer and one at a sage hen, the first I ever saw. Get back to camp at dusk. Boys have a big fire burning. Sergeant of the guard for the night. Stay up to post the second sentinels and then go to bed.

VII. AT FORT HALLECK

Nov. 24—Up at daylight as usual. Have a bad time crossing the creek. Reach Halleck²⁶ about ten. Distance from Laramie 125 miles. Have to go into open quarters without bunks, tables, or floors, the Iowa boys having taken everything out when they heard we were coming. Take everything into our own quarters to keep it from being stolen. Fort Halleck is situated at the foot of Medicine Bow mountain, which is 10,000 feet high. Snow very deep next to the mountains.

Nov. 25 and 26—Go hunting. Iowa boys not to leave till our captain comes over from Laramie, November 30. Draw rations for ten days, corn meal and flour.

Dec. 1—Ten months since I left home. Fine time at the dance. Six ladies present. Far ahead of Laramie, for there are ladies here but none there. Supper free at midnight. Splendid! Oysters, pies, cakes, peaches, etc. Some Iowa boys try to raise a fuss and run off with the wagon, but are ordered to the guard house.

Issue 130 rations to Curtis for the men at the herd. Our horses sent to herd leaving us nothing to do. Looking for the captain. Begin to think he is snowed in.

Feb. 16, 1865²⁷—Wagons start to Rock creek. Sergt. Curtis and I start in afternoon. Maxwell lost two mules in the snow. My first time away from fort; like the place tolerably well.

26. Fort Halleck, 125 miles southwest of Ft. Laramie, at the foot of Elk mountain, was established in the summer of 1862. The site was located and the fort constructed by Major O'Farrell, who, with Co. A of the 11th O. V. C., had just opened up the new Denver road. (*Cf.* item, April 30, 1864.) Being located on this new Overland trail, it became the center of the fiercest fighting of that bloody year, 1865, as its inadequately equipped garrison attempted to guard the trail, protecting the emigrant trains, wagon trains, Overland mail coaches, and telegraph lines from the Indians.

27. Here begins the second volume of the diary. Between the two volumes is a gap from December 1, 1864, to February 16, 1865. Since the intervening events are important to the reader in understanding the rest of the diary, the most important omissions are supplied from Coutant's *History of Wyoming*, pp. 425-440.

November 29, 1864, occurred the battle of Sand creek, Colorado, in which the notorious Col. John M. Chivington wiped out Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes and eight lodges of Arapahoes under Left Hand. This was an event of great importance, as it was one of the chief causes of the Indians' going on the warpath in 1865, when there were uprisings in Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, and the Dakotas.

Hostilities opened January 7, 1865, when Capt. N. J. O'Brien defended Fort Sedgwick against overwhelming odds. On February 4, 1865, Indians attacked a small detachment at Mud Springs, the Overland station 105 miles east of Fort Laramie. Colonel Collins with one hundred and twenty men of the 11th Ohio cavalry and the 7th Iowa, rushed from Fort Laramie to the rescue, and an engagement occurred February 6 in which seven soldiers were wounded. February 8, Lieut. W. H. Brown arrived from Fort Laramie with a howitzer. A successful attack was made by Lieutenant Patton, who, with a small band, defeated the Indians in a hand to hand combat, with the loss of two men, John A. Harris of the 7th Iowa cavalry and William H. Hartshorn of the 11th Ohio cavalry.

Two other engagements took place in this region, in both of which Colonel Collins was successful. On February 14 the detachment returned to Fort Laramie. The official report of Colonel Collins throws additional light on the seriousness of the Indian situation:

"The party was made up of all the Cheyennes, Ogallallas, and Brule Sioux south of the Platte, together with probably a few Kiowas, Arapahoes, and perhaps some straggling Apaches and Comanches. It numbered from 800 to 1,000 lodges and from 2,000 to 3,000 warriors." Colonel Collins was right in his prediction that a large number of these Indians were planning to move northwest to the Mud river and the Powder river and that they would greatly endanger the Overland posts at Deer Creek and Platte Bridge.

Feb. 17—Snowed very hard all day; did not get out to look for cattle. Fisk down for cattle but does not get them without an order. Chryst and Greaney lost; Greaney fell from his mule frozen so badly that he died during the night. Chryst stayed by him till morning.²⁸

Feb. 18—Curtis and I started out hunting cattle. It was not snowing when we started, but we got caught in a very thick storm about eight miles from camp. Got back safe; went twelve miles down the creek. Saw hundreds of cattle, but no game except wolves and rabbits. Chryst was found about ten miles from the post, badly frozen. Little hopes of his recovery.

Feb. 19—Sunday. Was up to ranche with Curtis last night; could not see the road, snowing so hard. Let the mules have their own way. Went down creek and found some of the cattle. Warm and pleasant. Went hunting in the evening. Greaney found frozen solid, and taken to post.

Feb. 20—Curtis and I start for Post, driving the cattle. Arrived just as Greaney was being buried.

Feb. 28—Muster for pay. Inspection. Issue rations by mess, for Dominique and Koerner. Half the mess leave. Adams has splendid living.

Mar. 1, 1865—Glorious news from the East: Charleston ours. Stars and Stripes waving over Fort Sumter. Bad news for our mess; Mr. and Mrs. Adams leaving, going to Big Laramie. Have to go to the company to board; very hard.

March 2—Took our last breakfast at Adams'. Had a big time last night; made taffy and had a pleasant time, altho rather melancholy. All sorry to see our landlady leave. Never formed so strong an attachment for strangers before; seemed like home to me. Sergt. Chryst died this morning.

Mar. 3—19 degrees below zero; ground frozen too hard to dig grave. Coach from the east but no mail.

Mar. 4—Lieut. Brown back from Platte; chartered coach. Adams compelled to wait for the next one. Cain and Caldwell up from the herd.

Mar. 5—No inspection. Helped lower the remains of Sergt. Chryst to their last resting place. Coach in from the east, but no mail. Spent part of the evening at the captains' waiting for western coach.

Mar. 6—Issue clothing to company. Grand time at the store. Whiskey in the ascendant. Heavy snow storm going on; no coach from west yet.

28. Daniel Chryst and J. J. Greaney. (*Adams, op. cit.*)

Mar. 7—Coach down at breakfast time. Go down to store and see them off. Behymer and Florentine going, Behymer to Rock creek and Florentine to the Dale. I bid Mrs. Adams goodbye and a safe journey. Their coach breaks down and they have to go to another one. Pack up clothing and sweep the commissary. Boys back from the herd.

Mar. 8—Cold and very stormy. Can not see the mountains for the snow. Hutchinson again in charge of kitchen. No wood in Post; all playing "freeze out." Finish writing to Maggie Bowerman and go to bed under the folds of the Stars and Stripes.

Mar. 9—Very stormy, the worst since we came to Halleck. Snow blowing all day; no wood yet; have to tear down old shop for fuel to keep from freezing. Too cold to work, so go to bed to keep warm. No coaches; roads completely blockaded.

Mar. 10—Issue rations to company, to hospital, and to boys at herd. Brown's mess broken up; board in company now. They give company sack of beans, peas, and rice; not going to starve. Simpson and Johnson bring in fresh antelope. Prospect of better weather.

Mar. 11—Getting up wood. Mail long looked for arrives. Good letters. Four letters and a photo; one from Lide. Good news from Virginia, Early whipped by Sheridan.

Mar. 12—Snowing considerably, but pleasant. Company at work cleaning out and repairing stables. Another mail. Great victory: Sherman defeats Johnson, capturing 6,000 prisoners. The end is approaching. Thompson over from Laramie. Indians killing all the stock. Captain Rinehart killed by them.

Mar. 13—Make out inventory of the effects of Greaney. Write to Lide and stay up till after midnight.

Mar. 14—Coach came up, but no mail, not even papers. Florentine back from Big Laramie. Was near being shot by the outlaw, Jennings. Behymer sick at Rock creek. Company having more to eat. Had splendid roast antelope for dinner. Tomatoes and potatoes for supper.

Mar. 15—Behymer back. Coach up. Captain Humfreville's birthday. Jolly time for some people. Splendid dinner, barrin' thehardtack. Have lunch at nine o'clock and write to Amy until bed time. Rumor that Lieut. Brown and captain are ordered home.

Mar. 16—Lieut. Jewell, A. D. C. to Gen. Connor, passed down on the coach. Coach up, bringing Denver papers to the 11th.

Mar. 17—Went hunting with "Chuff" and Ed Lewis. Walked about twelve miles. Saw jack rabbits and antelope, but could not

get a shot. Lieut Brown sick. Gen. Connor²⁹ stops on his way down, inquiring how matters are at the post.

Mar. 18—Odell and Marriot up from the herd.

Mar. 19—Sunday. McFaddin goes to Medicine Bow for deer and antelope. I take charge of the kitchen for him. “Chink and daub” the stables.

Mar. 20—Issued Odell some cartridges for the boys at herd. Issue rations to company and hospital. Coach came up, but no mail.

Mar. 21—Captain and Florentine came back at noon, bringing the herd with them. Horses look rough. Some of the horses left behind, unfit for service. Caldwell, Odell, and Page in charge. Stable call at reveille and at 5 P. M. Water call at 10 A. M. Coach came up, but mail lost in Cache la Poudre river.

Mar. 22—Commence moving corn pile; a great many open sacks and considerable loose corn. Horses sent out to herd.

Mar. 24—Mail up at noon, part of it wet.

Mar. 26—one year since we arrived at Fort Kearney.

Mar. 28—Finish pay rolls and get them signed. Captain ready to start to Denver, but coach is full, so he has to wait. Russell moves to the post to keep mess. Caldwell up from the herd and stays with us.

Mar. 29—Capt. Humfreville and Dr. Finfrock³⁰ start to Denver. Only one passenger inside. Have plenty to do while they are gone. Clean up the quarter master and commissary department. Clear the snow off the corn pile and cover it with canvas, and take inventory of clothing.

April 2—Whitcomb over from Laramie; was five days coming through the canon. Feel quite “blue” all day.

April 4—Sort and issue clothing, then pile corn till recall. Train passes east. Butter for supper, a present from Mrs. Finfrock.

April 5—The coldest April weather I ever saw. Balance of the herd brought up with the whole outfit. One horse died in the stall at stable call. Have a big oyster supper after taps. Odell and Caldwell sleep in my bed; I sleep with Be—. No coach up today at all.

April 7—Received two letters, one from home and one real good one from Lide, with a photo; glad to get it. Letters from Laramie state that rumors say we are going back to Omaha.

29. Gen. Patrick E. Connor, born in Ireland, 1820. Emigrated to New York. Served five years in regular army. Moved to Texas, 1846. Served with distinction in Mexican War. Moved to California, 1850. Colonel of California Third volunteer infantry, 1861. Appointed to the command of the Military District of Utah, July, 1862. After battle of Bear river, he was promoted to brigadier general, and after the battle of Tongue river was offered a colonelcy in the regular army. He was a brave soldier, greatly beloved by his men. (*Cf.* Notes 40 and 50.)

30. Dr. Finfrock was assistant surgeon of the 11th O. V. C.

April 8—L. L. Adams came on coach last night. Glorious news in Denver extra. Richmond captured, Petersburg evacuated by rebels and Grant after them close.

Walked about twelve miles; no game; so snowy I could hardly see.

April 9—Sunday. Capt. H. and Dr. F. arrived from Denver. Will be paid off tomorrow. No bounty for veterans; paymaster refused to pay it.

April 10—Guard mount for first time here. Guard placed at stable. Have to act as Sergt. Major as I have nothing to do. Receive \$93.09. Some of the boys can't pay their debts. Behymer gone to Platte to marry a couple.

April 11—Snow very deep. No mail. Behymer back. Beef cattle brought in. Killed one of Foote's oxen by mistake.

April 12—Wagons getting ready to go over to Little Laramie for hay. Rumor says that Lee has surrendered.

April 13—Caldwell appointed corporal.

April 14—Brown gone down the road on business. "Ota" music, fiddles, banjos, and guitars.

April 15—Make our requisition for 700 men, one year's rations. Quite a pile, but perhaps will be needed. Make out ordnance returns for Post since Sept. 1864. Orders received from District No. 2.

April 16—News of Lee's surrender confirmed with more good news. Very fair prospect of an early peace. Hay wagons come back loaded.

April 17—Boys that were down the road are nearly blind from snow blindness. I officiated at guard as no officers were present.

April 18—Received a letter containing a gem.

Bad news in the Denver papers. The nation is mourning. The days of the French revolution are upon us. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward assassinated, supposed by rebel emissaries. Burning at stake too mild for assassins' punishment.

April 19—Wip and I went hunting. Too stormy to go far; never saw snow come down so before. Three deserters captured and put in guard house; one chained to axle of wagon. They belong to 1st Colorado cavalry. Have a big supper, fruit, oysters, sardines, only \$6.25.

April 20—Issue rations, all the flour and hardtack.

April 21—Coach yesterday brought down mail that had been carried past. A letter from Lide. Eggs at a dollar a dozen for supper. California troops to be here in two or three weeks. Johnson has surrendered.

April 23—Sunday. Shotwell and I went hunting over towards the bluffs. Saw one rabbit and one sage hen. Come in nearly blind. News of capture of Mobile received.

April 25—Dig ditches to carry off water; had six men in forenoon and four in evening; two “camped” from “imbibing” too freely. News of Mosby’s surrender received. Brown and Be—going to Rock creek. Have to mount guard without help. Lieut. Hawley of Gen. Connor’s staff came up on coach.

April 26—Keating thrown from his horse at drill. Letters from Laramie speak of more trouble. Crow Indian to be hung.³¹

April 27—Brown and Be—came back at noon. Hay wagons back; all broke down except one.

April 28—Slept about ten hours last night, generally about six. Lieut. Hawley gone to Denver; Lt. Brown gone down the road after a deserter. Coach passenger reports commissary train at Cooper’s creek. Mooney and “Yank” dismounted without orders on drill.

April 29—Lt. Brown back with his man. Receive letter from home, containing news of Grandfather’s death. Another heir at Hulls.³² Father has bought a piece of woodland at Irwin. Captain gave me permission to go to Laramie.

April 30—Sunday. Inspection and muster, the largest turnout we have ever had, 67 present. Will, Wip, and I take a walk up towards the mountains; snow ten or fifteen feet deep. Paper states that Booth is killed. Supply train arrives. Unload twenty wagons; balance in morning.

May 1—Finish unloading the supplies and loading the wagons with corn, 2,500 lbs. flour short. Issue 25 days’ rations to teamsters. Coach up. Hay teams back. Gen. Hughes here.

May 2—Johnson’s surrender. Receive letters from “Sorrel,” Maggie B. and Bro. John.

May 3—Finish Com. papers, pack mess chest and get ready to start tomorrow. Wagon train camped by Russel’s. Whitcomb moved up.

VIII. FORT HALLECK TO LARAMIE CITY AND RETURN

May 4—Load up and get ready to start for Laramie at nine o’clock. Hutch going after meat. Iowa boys and six of Co. K compose the squad. Run into snow at Sage creek and have to back

31. It was a very serious mistake to kill a Crow Indian, as the Crows were traditionally the friends of the white man against the warlike Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Sioux.

32. The heir referred to is now Ella Hull McWilliams of Los Angeles, Cal. The “grandfather” was Edward Byram II, a soldier in the War of 1812, and the farm mentioned is still the Ohio Hulls’ homestead.

off. See plenty of game, but too wild to kill. Pass village of Arapahoes on Dry creek. Camp on Rock creek and go hunting, but kill nothing. McCadams, Preston, and Robinson desert.

May 5—Covered up with snow. Hard finding the road; get lost once and have to turn back. Meet the wagons and afterwards keep the road. Take dinner in Laramie. Had to go around snow and cross above the ford. Deep wading. Snow from six to ten inches deep. Reach the canon about three o'clock. Upset one wagon in canon and have to cross a drift from four to fifteen feet deep. Camp on prairie. Stand guard till 11:45.

May 6—Start from camp at six. Cross over to Sabeal and take dinner at Lone tree. Cross the ridge—eighteen miles—no water; get very thirsty. Camp below the mouth of the Chugwater. Grass looks green. Sergt. Meek and Lee nearly blind with snow blindness. Lieuts. Brown and Morrow stand first guard.

May 7—Somebody around in the night, rather suspicious, but no visible danger. Three guards wade the river twice but wagons take to the bluffs. Large herds along the river. Reach Laramie at ten. Cross the river, but wagons have to go to bridge. Most of the troops gone after Indians. Two companies Third U. S. arrive, enlisted rebels from Rock Island.

May 8—Buy a supply of paper at sutler's from down the river. Go up to a "squaw" camp to get moccasins; first time I have ever been in a lodge. Crow hung in Evans two weeks ago can be seen from the post, "waving in air."

May 9—Nearly ready to start back to Halleck, but will not start while it is so cold. Slept on floor last night. Talked to rebels awhile.

May 10—Very tired of the place. Two mules lost and half our outfit stolen.

May 11—Boys hunt mules but do not find them. Load up the wagons with salt, sugar, blankets, apples, etc. Get rations of corn and eight days' rations for ourselves. Drive out and camp at first crossing of Laramie.

May 12—Have aching in bones but it wears off before night. Take a last hunt for mules, but can't find them and have to draw two from QM. Lee's family going over in one wagon. Get started about noon. Glad to be off. Wagons take bluff road. I cross Laramie below "Chug." Horses and eight men got wet.

May 13—Camp; no guards. Cross the ridge and go hunting. Stay at Lone tree and find Bennett and Baily there. Wait for wag-

ons and go to camp six miles up the Sabeal. Camp where Arapahoes camped.

May 14—Go hunting but only see one deer. Go north on bluffs and come into canon at prairie. Camp up near head of canon. Go out south hunting, but no game to be seen, so I amuse myself by rolling stone down mountain. Have dinner and wash up dishes while others go and shovel snow out of roads.

May 15—Double teams and get out of canon by noon. Too cold for comfort with overcoat on. Have to walk to keep warm. Laramie high; nearly floats the wagons. Get across all safe. Camp by big snow drift eight miles from Laramie.

May 16—Start out hunting. Shoot one antelope near road. It starts running, but I run it for a mile; it lies down; I shoot again, cut off hams, and overtake wagons. Cross Rock creek. Cripple another antelope but don't get it. Leave wagons and strike Medicine Bow about four miles below road. Supper with Simpson. Take Hutch with me. Camp on Bear creek. Fried antelope, "slap jacks," and molasses.

May 17—Arapahoes around thick and more coming. Reach home (Halleck) at noon without accident. Many changes. Russell shot by Jennings. Dr. Finfrock and lady going to leave. Dr. Harstick in charge of hospital. Lt. Behymer and squad down the road. Post looks clean and nice. Got seven letters. Good.

May 18—Squad brought up Bob North, now in guard house. Dr. F. and lady gone. Seems like Post is nearly deserted. Indians swarming. Arapahoes a-plenty. Give them rations and corn.

May 19³³—Issue rations to Arapahoes. They want everything in the commissary. Emigrants passing. Some camp close.

May 20³⁴—Keating and Wilson want to be transferred to engineer's corps. Jennings brought in by Comstock and the Arapahoe scouts. Desperate looking man. Jeff Davis reported captured.

May 21—Sunday. Jennings tried; pleads guilty of shooting Olds and killing Russell. Sentenced to be hanged immediately. Sentence executed between one and two. He did not repent at all: said that he did murder Russell and was not sorry for it. He remarked that he was going to Hell a-whooping, but as he was good at finding

33. Cf. item for August 29, 1865.

34. On May 20, 200 Indians attacked Deer creek station but were repulsed. They drove away twenty-two horses. Lieut. Col. Preston Bierce Plumb of the 11th Kansas cavalry, with thirty men, gave chase, killing one Indian but losing one man. June 1, 1865, Colonel Plumb, who was operating along the line from Fort Laramie west, in his official report from Camp Dodge, a short distance above Platte bridge, stated that Rock Ridge station had been attacked by Indians, the stock run off, and the telegraph wires cut. Lieutenant Collins, of 11th O. V. C. discovered that the station was in flames. This was one of the events in the Sweetwater region preliminary to the Platte bridge massacre. (Cf. Note 38.)

trails, he would look for a trail to Heaven. His last words were: "Hurrah for Jeff Davis and the Southern confederacy." Next moment he was swinging about twenty-five feet in the air. Cut down an hour later.

Give Indians a large quantity of corn. Plenty of them around, big, little, old, and young.

May 22—Have sale of Jennings's effects; amount to nearly \$800; proceeds to go to Mrs. Russell. One pony sold for \$240. Drove of 4,000 or 5,000 sheep go past, going from New Mexico to California. Trade with an Arapahoe chief for a buffalo robe.

May 23—Hear that Capt. Humfreville is mustered out of service. Several small trains pass. Dr. Smith from Ft. Collins here. Dr. Finfrock writes that Co. L is at Julesburg on the way home, and that Co. I and K will follow soon.

May 24—Odell, Caldwell, and Pumpelly on the mountain. Wagons go down the road with corn. Write out copy of charges and proceedings against Jennings. Make out descriptive roll of Keating and Wilson.

May 25—Lieut. Drake up from Ft. Collins. Went back on evening coach. Fine drill today. Charlie Stout "Dismounted without orders." First ox train passes up. Play ball after supper.

May 26—Had a good drill. Some of the horses very bad to ride; one down several times. Capt. Brown came down. Says his men will be in soon. California boys came in after dinner; look like they have seen hard times. Seem clever,³⁵ good sort of fellows. Issue rations to teamsters. Music and dancing in quarters.

May 27—Issue rations to California boys; no trouble; agree well. They are from all states. Went down and visited with them this evening.

May 28—Beautiful evening, everything seems so fresh and growing. Busy all day issuing rations and forage to California boys and teamsters.

May 29—California boys leave for Cache la Poudre.³⁶ Trains passing up don't like to pay toll.

May 30—Have fine drill; charge through mud and brush and close up well. Splendid fun.

May 31—Monthly inspection. Company looks very well. Inspection of horses and equipment. Some of the men charged with

35. *Clever* in the Hull family meant *generous* or *open-handed*.

36. Cache la Poudre was a station between Julesburg and Fort Collins, on the new stage line to Denver. It was so named by French traders, who cached their powder there from the Indians.

equipments lost. I take as correct an inventory of stores as possible.

June 1—Mail stopped at Rock creek by high water; bridge gone. Coach and team lost in Platte; one man drowned. Sale of Russell's property.

June 2—Messenger down from Platte for assistance; says Indians are running off stock and killing station keepers. Lt. Brown and thirty men go up to see what the trouble is. Captain gone to Rock creek. Halleck looks rather deserted.

June 3—Lieut. James A. Brown writes that he has found two dead men; will go on till he opens the road. Captain up from below. Judge Kinney and other notables go up on coach, escort of four men with them.

June 4—Sergt. McFaddin and ten men to wait as escort for Colfax.

June 5—First coach escort back. Bring no news from north of river. Was up to emigrant camp last night. Nothing going on at post. Dull.

June 6—Lieut. Brown, Florentine, and nine men back; others stationed at different stations north of the Platte. Colfax, Bross, Richardson,³⁷ and Otis came up with the escort from Co. F. Lt. Behymer went with them. Great bear chase. About forty shots fired, fifteen of which took effect. Bear steak for supper.

June 7—Write letters to Capt. Cochrane. Issue rations to Dominiue. Behymer back; Sergt. Brown going up to take charge of the men. Martin writes that five Indians were seen near Sulphur Springs.

June 8—Bodine and Stewart killed at Sage creek. Caldwell and Wilson wounded. One citizen killed. Duckett and citizen missing.³⁸

37. Hon. Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the house of representatives, Lieut. Gov. William Bross of Illinois, Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield *Republican*, and Albert D. Richardson of the New York *Tribune*. Richardson, who was one of the group of young reporters sent out by the *Tribune*, had spent some time in Lawrence during its bloodiest years, and later wrote of this California trip in *Beyond the Mississippi*.

It was upon this trip that Colfax repeated, upon every occasion, the "posthumous speech of President Lincoln," in which he spoke of the inexhaustible mineral wealth of the region from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. "Tell the miners for me," said Lincoln, "that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation, and we shall prove in a very few years that we are the treasury of the world."

Coutant comments: "Verily, this was the first full and complete recognition of the West by a president of the United States."—*History of Wyoming*, p. 444.

38. (Cf. Note 34.) The Indian attacks in the Sweetwater region were becoming more furious. May 27, 150 savages destroyed Saint Mary's station, the garrison escaping to South Pass. The Indians cut 400 yards of telegraph wires and burned the posts. On June 8, Lieutenant Brown left Sage Creek station in charge of five soldiers. They were attacked by a hundred Indians, but held them off for an hour, until their ammunition gave out. The five soldiers and two citizens, all mounted, left the fort. They were immediately surrounded and, fighting desperately, were pursued eight miles. Of the five soldiers, all of Co. K, 11th O. V. C., L. B. Hull's own company, George Bodine and Perry Stewart were killed; Orlando Duckett was captured; Corp. W. H. Caldwell and William Wilson escaped, wounded. Caldwell and Wilson were brought back to Fort Halleck by Sergeant McFaddin and ten other men of the 11th O. V. C. (Cf. item for June 10)—Coutant, p. 452.

Large trains passing up; some women. Captain organizes the train and passes them on. Brown and Gregory go up on coach.

Three years ago tonight I was lying on battlefield at Cross Keyes. I go down to Whitcomb's teepa. See young elk, a pretty animal. "Mountain dew" in the ascendant.

June 9—Large trains passing up, and Mormon train going down. Cooper leaves with [omission]. I get permission to take a ride and go down to Medicine Bow. Have a dance with the Mormon ladies, "Brighamites" and "Josephites." Get up from Mormon camp about midnight.

June 10—Escort back from up the road, bringing the boys that were killed and Caldwell and Wilson. Boys look very bad; faces all bruised and black. Thirteen wounds in Bodine and eight in Stewart. We bury them in one grave, with honors of war; six rounds fired over the grave. The colonel shot the chief, as they suppose, when quite near them, as the pursuit was ended by his death. All the boys but three back. Indians seen on this side of the river.

June 11—Got a pass and with Curtis and Maxwell go to Medicine Bow. Stop at Mormon train, then go down to station and across to emigrants' camp. Get "home" about 11 P. M. Have quite a talk with the ladies.

June 12—Warm; mosquitoes very bad; almost eat a fellow up. Captain Posy and Stephenson and Merrid going to Platte on coach. False bear alarm by a mule. No trains passing; all stop at Medicine Bow. Race up at stations between Badkin's pony and Behymer's. Be—'s horse won—\$25. Citizens stopping till the road is opened.

June 13—Take a ride with Behymer; meet train. Behymer found an old acquaintance from Ohio and had a long talk with him. Beauvais train camps with Whitcomb. Buy seventeen beaver skins of a trapper for only \$59.

June 14—Captain back from up the road; uneasy about Brown's squad; nothing heard of them for five days. Captain ordered to Laramie, but goes up the road with eleven men passengers armed with muskets. Behymer saw two Indians this side of Pass creek. We move into commissary and fortify.

June 15—Was on mounted patrol all night; did not go to bed at all. No alarm. Sleep all forenoon and go hunting in the evening. See no Indians but plenty of sage hens and antelope. Have Whitcomb's glass and can see all over the country. Trains camping on Pass creek. Hear that Duckett is safe; greatly surprised.

June 16—Cold and disagreeable; snowing nearly all day. Went up to Pass creek. Saw that the train was organized; over a hundred wagons altogether. Eight of the boys down from Sulphur Springs. Report that Indians have stolen stage's stock below Rock creek. Mormons camped by Q. M. stable today.

June 17—Coach from below; no trouble yet. False reports yesterday. Orders received for us to go to Laramie as soon as relieved here.

June 18—Apt and some of the boys down. Ten of the boys left at Sulphur. Evacuate our fortifications and return to quarters again. Don't fear any attack now. Colorado boys up from forage. Boys anxious to go to Laramie.

June 19—Col. Potter and Capt. Cochrane came up last night. Have regular guard mount again. Issue corn to Colorado boys. Paper states that all volunteers are to be discharged immediately. F boys fire on Arapahoes.

June 20—Capt. Wilson with a squad of Colorado boys came up. Very busy all day making inventory and counting everything in Q. M. Dept.

June 21—Lieut. Brown with escort gone up to Sulphur. Capt. Cochrane gone back to Denver. Train attacked at Pass creek. Arapahoes up for rations.

June 22—Alarm early in morning. Stage stock run off from Elk mountain by Indians. Our boys ran after them but could not catch them. Train fired on four miles below the fort. Issue rations to Indians. Arapahoes come up and say that Cheyennes will be here in the morning.

June 23—Alarm at midnight. All move into corral. McFaddin and I went up to the station and had all come down. Several of us went scouting over the bluffs, saw signs of Indians but could not see Indians with a good glass. Beeshaw's herd stolen; saw old and young elk; chased a young antelope. Indians seen on bluffs during evening; squad out.

June 24—Slept in commissary last night; no alarm of any kind. Move back to quarters. Col. Plumb and Lieuts. Thornton and Booth of the 11th Kansas came up. Lieut. Brown with all the boys but four came down; expect to leave Wednesday. Emigrant train camped close by.

June 25—Sunday. Fine inspection for our last one at Fort Hall. Went up to train and had a talk with ladies. Commence turn-

ing over stores. Sergt. Florentine and squad going up after the boys at Sulphur Springs. Burns shot horse for throwing him.

June 26—Issue rations to company for last time. Three companies of the 11th Kansas came in. Boys packing up getting ready to start.

June 27—Commissary turned over. Move out and give possession of office. All boys in once more.

June 28—Load the wagons and move down about three-fourths of a mile and camp. Mr. and Mrs. Adams camped near us, on their way to Bannock; likely see them no more. Caldwell left in hospital, not quite able for trip. Will drive cattle to kill on road.

IX. FORT HALLECK BACK TO FORT LARAMIE

June 29—Leave Halleck at reveille. Wagons heavily loaded. Get a sack of sugar of government train below fort. Have a pleasant ride and camp on Rock creek. Indians' campfire a short distance away.

June 30—No alarm during night. Start at daylight. Find Laramie high. Unload wagons and raise loads, then splice ropes and haul them across by hand. Get to canon middle of afternoon. Go up to snowdrift and wash. Have antelope for supper. Mosquitoes very bad.

July 3—Have breakfast and march out. River too high to cross. Take to the bluffs and haul the wagons up hill by hand. Pass camp of 16th Kansas. Ford river half mile above and arrive at Fort Laramie about nine. Camp in dirt between band room and officers' mess room. Get old commissary office to work in temporarily.

July 4—Sunrise gun fired and national salute at noon. Big drunk going on. Keating and squad detailed as mail escort. Men going back to sawmill. Co. I band playing.

July 5—Finish muster roll and Halleck ordnance returns. Draw 45 more horses, making over a hundred in the company.

July 6—Gen. Henry arrives; salute of 11 guns in his honor. Keating and squad back. Martin and squad gone with mail.

July 7—Gen. Connor gone to Fort Collins. Co. K relieved of further post duty; talk of moving out to herd our stock.

July 8—Dress parade. Man named Simpson drummed out of camp to Rogue's march, labeled "Thief." He made too much noise and was gagged with a bayonet. Several orders read, one relieving Companies E and K from further duty at the post. General Henry and lady pass our camps. General very complimentary.

July 9—Detachment of Co. G down. See Sinclair, Johnson, Smith, and others. Had not seen them for a long time.

July 10—Busy getting ready to move out. Turn in sabres and leave box of equipment in arsenal. Have supper of oysters, sardines, veal, cake, pies, and fruit; only three dollars; very cheap. Pack up box of furs, robes, etc. and leave at Mr. Bullock's.

July 11—Get ready to march. Throw away a great deal of clothing. Leave Laramie directly after guard mount. Camp four miles up the Laramie. Have rations and forage for the balance of the month. Nice camp; two tents; balance sleep in kennels. Go fishing at night.

July 12—"Slap jacks" for breakfast. Captain with wagon gone to fort. Play washer woman after a long rest from it. Considerable firing by boys. Kansas officers come to see what the matter is. Set "trot line" to get fish for a change.

July 13—Lieut. Brown and wagon goes to Ft. Halleck. Mail over. Co. G arrives from Ft. Collins, bringing news that Foote's ranche is burned and his herd stolen by Indians.

July 14—Captain gone down to fort.

July 17—About half the company gone to the fort, one wagon load, balance walking. Show going off tonight. Officers go down.

July 19—Performance went off last night. Boys coming up all day. Went out to look for Indians; some seen near camp. Capture two horses and hunt lost beef.

California boys attacked on Deer creek; infantry attacked near Bordeaux ranche. Pickets out. Officers up from fort.

July 20—Pickets still out. Camp named Camp Greenwood. Went down to show and got back about midnight.

July 21—Go down to Laramie with wagon and get beef, bacon, and rubber blankets or ponchos. Have real drunken crowd coming back.

July 22—Placed in charge of cook house again. Prospect of remaining.

July 23—Go fishing with seine. Have plenty of fun and catch plenty of fish. No pay for us this time; money ran short.

July 24—Mounted skirmish drill for the first time. Some of the horses wild and unmanageable. Show going off tonight. Wagon load of boys going down. Halleck mail in. Receive six letters, four good.

July 25—Lieut. Brown ordered to fort. Corp. Martin ordered to report to Capt. Robins for instructions.

July 26—Late reveille. Skirmish drill by platoons. Wagon train coming down. Capt. Marshall in camp. Have a big swim and then sleep.

July 27—Report that Col. Collins and 26 men were killed at Platte bridge. Indians attacked a train, and they went to assist teamsters.³⁹

July 28—Report of Platte bridge fight confirmed. Only one more killed; eight wounded; Collins dead. Lieut. Lewis here for supper. Skirmish drill by platoons; dismounted firing.

July 29—Go down to fort and wagon follows. Get bacon, salt, and vinegar. Take dinner at Flannigans. Troops on the move. 16th Kansas getting paid and raising mutiny. One man shot last night. Infantry gone towards Denver. California boys up Platte have big horse swim.

July 30—Writing letters and policing over camp. Ready for inspection tomorrow. 16th Kansas threaten mutiny; want to release their prisoners, but a battery planted at guard house keeps them quiet.

July 31—Wagons going down to fort draw twenty days' rations and forage; get no flour nor sugar. None on hand. Companies at post short of grub. Inspection passes off well. Set trot line.

39. During July, 1865, the Indians began attacking both lines of travel across Wyoming simultaneously. Almost every station on the southern route, from Virginia Dale in northern Colorado to Bitter creek in the Green river region, was attacked. One of the most serious of these battles was the massacre at Platte bridge, July 26. During the night of July 25, Lieutenant Bretney, Tom Sinclair, and others of Co. G, 11th O. V. C. had seen the wagon train of Sgt. Amos Custard, of the famous Co. H, 11th Kansas cavalry, encamped at Willow springs, about half way between Platte bridge and Sweetwater. Lieutenant Bretney reported at Platte bridge fort that this train was in danger of being wiped out, as Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Black Foot Indians to the number of 2,500 to 5,000 were on the warpath in that region. Major Anderson prepared to send a relief party. Young Lieut. Caspar Collins, who had just received his commission as lieutenant, volunteered as leader. He with twenty-five mounted men crossed the bridge, but before they had gone more than a half mile, five or six hundred Cheyennes were upon them while at the same time several hundred more savages came pouring over the bluffs. Part of Lieutenant Collins' band started back toward the fort. But as Lieutenant Collins stopped to rescue a wounded comrade, his horse became unmanageable and dashed into the midst of the savages, carrying him to his death. A volley from the fort and a rescue party on foot, under Lieutenant Bretney, came too late to save Collins and eight of his men. According to Tom Sinclair's account, two hours later, the Indians having disappeared, three boys from Collins' own company, William Worrell, John C. Friend, and Tom Sinclair, crossed the bridge in search of Collins' body. They found it with two other bodies, which they lifted to their saddlebows, Sinclair rescuing the body of Collins, dripping blood. At that moment they heard the yells of the returning Indians and barely escaped with the bodies to the fort. (*Cf. Note 24.*)

Lieutenant Collins, the son of William O. Collins for whom Fort Collins was named, was only twenty years old. In his honor the name of Platte bridge fort was changed to Fort Caspar, and thus the name came to Wyoming. (It should be spelled *Casper*, not *Casper*.)

The afternoon following Lieutenant Collins' defeat, Custard's wagon train was seen coming down the hill west of the fort, as five hundred mounted Indians charged along the ridge toward them. (Coutant, pp. 474-475.) The soldiers guarding the train formed a corral in a ravine and prepared to defend themselves. Three of these men escaped to the fort, but the remaining eighteen, after a valiant fight, were slain.

Major Anderson's Platte bridge garrison of 200 men, two companies of the 11th Kansas cavalry, were reënforced the next day by two more companies of the same regiment. General Connor also ordered Col. J. H. Kidd, 6th Michigan cavalry, to the assistance of the fort, but upon their arrival at Platte bridge, July 28, they found that the Indians had withdrawn and were headed for the Powder river region.

The eighteen men who were slain with Custard's wagon train, were Kansans who had seen hard service under their distinguished leader, Lieut. Col. Preston Plumb. At the close of the campaign he returned to Kansas, where he was three times elected to the United States senate.

August 1—Wagons bringing up 55 bags of corn. Train arrived at post. Not so many troops about now. None of Co. G's men killed but Lieut. Collins; mostly 11th Kansas men.

X. TONGUE RIVER AND POWDER RIVER EXPEDITION⁴⁰

August 8, 1865—Company left Laramie at 8:20.⁴¹ I stayed behind with the captain and finished and compared muster rolls in Capt. Anderson's office. Went to old camp, saddled up, ate lunch, and came on to company's camp, below Star ranche on the Platte. Lindsay and others with us besides guide, Antwine.⁴² March 8 miles.

August 9—Start early; have to wait for wagons; move very slowly. Reach camp on Bitter Cottonwood at twelve. March 16 miles. Plenty of shade. Have currants and cherries to eat.

August 10—Reveille at daybreak. Have to wait on wagons often. Meet some of Co. G boys. Camp below Horseshoe station at twelve. Several of the boys sick. Michigan boys in front today. Part of Co. K are rear guard and part in front of train.

August 11—Stopped at Horse Shoe; left the telegraph road and

40. "No fact in history has been more obscured than the operations of Gen. P. E. Connor in the Powder river country. A careful search among the records of the War Department makes it clear that there are no official reports on file there. . . . It has always been supposed that General Connor made an official report, but it now transpires that he never did. Smarting under the injustice done him at the close of this campaign, he hastily boxed his reports and papers and sent them to Salt Lake City, explaining that he wished to examine them carefully before making a formal report to the War Department. It chanced that the building in which these reports were stored was shortly after burned, and hence the official data of the Powder river expedition were destroyed. Fortunately Capt. H. E. Palmer of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry, who was acting quartermaster for General Connor, kept a diary of events from the time the column started from Laramie until its return, and thus a reliable record has been preserved." (*Ibid.*, p. 506.)

Coutant follows this statement with Capt. H. E. Palmer's report. All references in notes to Captain Palmer are to this article. (*Ibid.*, pp. 506-532.)

The diary of Lewis B. Hull, who was quartermaster sergeant on this expedition, dovetails neatly with the Palmer report and supplements it with several facts, which later footnotes indicate. Additional facts are supplied also from Charlie Adams' *Reminiscence*. The authenticity of the three sources is evidenced by their agreement in all important facts.

The entire Powder river expedition was commanded by Gen. P. E. Connor, who, for the most part, accompanied the left or main column. The middle column was commanded by Lieut. Col. Samuel Walker, who, with 700 men of the 18th Kansas cavalry, made a successful expedition into the Black Hills. The right column, under Col. Nelson Cole, consisted of 797 men of the 2d Missouri light artillery, equipped as cavalry, 311 men of the 12th Missouri cavalry, a train of 140 wagons, and a section of three-inch rifles. This was the disastrous Rosebud river expedition referred to in the diary. The main column, which according to Palmer left Fort Laramie July 30, 1865, was made up of the following forces: Capt. N. J. O'Brien, with 88 men, Co. F, 7th Iowa cavalry, First Lieut. John S. Brewer, Second Lieut. Eugene F. Ware; Capt. Marshall, Co. E, 11th Ohio cavalry, 60 men; Capt. J. L. Humfreville, Co. K, 11th Ohio cavalry, 70 men, and Co. E, 11th Ohio cavalry, 57 men; Capt. Albert Brown, Co. M, 2d California cavalry, 61 men; Capt. George Conrad, Co. L, 2d California cavalry, 44 men, and 2d Missouri artillery, 14 men; 15 men on detached service from 11th Ohio cavalry, serving in the quartermaster department. (Capt. H. E. Palmer was quartermaster and L. B. Hull, quartermaster sergeant.) This command totaled 404 soldiers, 145 Indians, and 195 teamsters and wagonmasters, with 185 wagons, Robert Wheeling, chief train master. The Indians mentioned were seventy Winnebago and Omaha scouts, under Capt. E. W. Nash, and seventy-five Pawnee scouts, under Capt. Frank North. There were also six companies of 6th Michigan cavalry, 250 men, under Colonel Kidd, going to fortify a new fort, later named Fort Connor. The guides were Maj. James Bridger, Nick Janisse, Jim Daugherty, Mich. Bouyer, John Resha, Antwine LaDue, and Bordeaux. (Coutant, p. 507.) General Connor's staff included Capt. N. J. O'Brien, Capt. H. E. Palmer, Lieut. Eugene F. Ware (later to become the well-known Kansas poet, "Ironquill"), and Lieut. A. V. Richards, of the United States army signal corps.

41. The command started July 30, according to H. E. Palmer.

42. Antwine LaDue (*Cf.* Note 40).

crossed the Platte. Indians seen on bluffs; go out scouting after camping. See trail but no Indians, altho some moccasin tracks were fresh.

Saw bear tracks along the road. Camp on the Platte at the old LaBonte camp about noon. Boys washing and swimming. Guide found where large camp of Indians had been; found scalp, boots, etc. Strong picket guard posted, and arms for pillows. 16 miles.

August 12—Reveille at four. No alarm during night. We take the advance and 6th boys the rear guard. Cross Platte at LaBonte's crossing. Travel over some very broken, barren ground. See some signs of Indians. Kill large rattlesnake. Reach camp at 2, on Platte near mouth of LaPrele. Guide brought in an antelope. Go seining; little good. March 22 miles.

August 13—Leave Platte. March north nearly all day. Roads very bad, sandy, hilly, broken; crooked turns. Move slowly; have to rest often. Company wagons, cooks, and herders reach camp at 1:30. Teams come in till four, when rear guard arrives. Have to wade river and float water over for cooking. Go fishing and catch over a bushel of fine fish. March ten miles.

August 14—Break camp later than usual. 6th in front; detachment of Co. K as rear guard. One teamster arrested for firing on road and another for stealing and selling a government mule. Camp on Platte about nine. Go fishing with hooks before dinner, then with a seine, catching a large amount. Have both dinner and supper today. 7 miles.

August 15—Reveille at 1:30; breakfast at 2:30; break camp at 3 and move out a mile and a half and have to wait for rear of train, who had been contrary and did not try to get ready early. Leave the Platte and proceed nearly north; road leveler. Camp at 9 on a small stream nearly dry, but with a few stagnant pools; very poor water. Smells strong. No wood; nothing but sage brush. Sampson killed a large antelope three miles out, and carried a quarter to camp on his shoulder. I took horse and went after balance. March 12 miles.

August 16—Get better start than yesterday. Teams get on road sooner but we have to wait for them awhile. Only one small spring of water. Sagebrush a-plenty. I have been first one out for a considerable distance. Country not so broken. Pass down a broad valley with some grass and camp on Cheyenne fork. Dig in sand for water, which is very strong in sulphur, coal, and ores. Reach camp at 4:30, after having been on road thirteen and a half

hours. Rear guard arrived at dusk, 16 hours on road. Have to carry water a quarter of a mile and do not get supper till dark. 27 miles.

August 17—Was up sometime before 4:30, carrying water. Break camp about noon. Camp on Dry creek, supposed to be a branch of the Cheyenne. Have to cook with sagebrush and a few tipa poles. Water stagnant. Get very thirsty before reaching camp again. Coal sticking out of banks all along the creek. Plenty of signs of buffaloes; guides saw a herd at a distance. 10 miles.

August 18—All the wagons start out in front. We overtake them and pass on. All Co. K in front. Find water in one place and plenty of berries, cherries, and currants. Saw one large buck or some antelope in the distance. Guide kills antelope; have it stewed for supper. Reach camp on Wind river at 11:30. Water scarce; plenty of fine shade under cottonwoods. Boys hunting. No signs of Indians. Old camp of Co. E in 1864. 12 miles.

August 19—Break camp at 6. Go down stream and wash, then across bluffs and join the command. All have to march in ranks today. Saw two dead buffaloes and several off the road grazing. Antelope getting more numerous. Reach camp on Powder river.⁴³ Go hunting; see large bear tracks; venison for supper and more for breakfast.

August 20—See four black tail deer and two antelope. Stewed beef and roast buffalo for supper. 15 miles.

August 26—Break camp at 6. Newland and I go hunting from camp. Go up around Big Horn, across Clear creek; pass over some fine country. Have pineries, large pines. See plenty of game: elk, deer, antelope, and buffalo. Shoot one fawn and wound buffalo. Crossed over to Tongue river and went down several miles, during which time we saw horse and pony tracks all over the plains; river about twenty feet wide, clear and swift. We often go several miles with no sign of road. We took to bluffs and came near getting lost, but at last came in sight of train. Camp late on Beaver creek or Penos fork. 16 miles.

August 27—Sunday. Break camp at 6. Cross some very rough bluffs and reach Tongue river, where it is about as large as the Laramie, after 12 miles march. Left the mountains in our rear and

43. The command had arrived August 11. They began building the stockade for Fort Connor, August 14. (Coutant, p. 512.)

marched northeast. Shooting among officers; one man dangerously wounded; gambling the cause.

August 28—Supposed to be about to the Montana line. Some beautiful scenery. Scouts report Indians up the river. 40 of Co. K, Pawnees, Winnebagos, Californians, and O'Brien's battery, 300 in all, start up after dark, Gen. Connor commanding.

August 29—Camp almost deserted. We go fishing; explore very high and broken bluffs.

The command marched all last night, and came upon the Indians soon after daylight, charged through the camp, and had a running fight of about five miles, killing a number of Indians, then came back and burned tipas [tepees], robes, furs, and blankets and an abundance of dried meat, tools, and everything useful in Indian life, many things that were captured about Halleck last summer [spring]. Brot of[f] a few prisoners; none of the command killed, except an Omaha scout; two of Co. K wounded, Marsh by spent ball in thigh and Johnson⁴⁴ in mouth with arrow; went through upper lip and tongue and lodged in jaw bone, leaving its head sticking fast.

Arapahoes that we fed at Halleck now fighting; follow the command back nearly to camp, firing on rear guard.⁴⁵

August 30—Command arrived about 2 A. M., having been in the saddle for 30 hours and traveling ninety miles without anything to

44. Ed Ward, alias John Johnson.

45. This was the battle of Tongue river. L. B. Hull was left in camp, but Charlie Adams and H. E. Palmer were both in the battle, of which both give long accounts. Charlie Adams says, "General Connor made us a speech saying we were near the Indian village. He had no idea what force was there, but had confidence in the men and expected each man to do his duty. Should we get in close quarters the men should group in fours and stay together and use their guns (carbines) as long as possible and under no circumstances use their revolvers unless there was no other chance. We were to make every shot count and be sure to leave one shot for ourselves rather than fall into the hand of the Indians."

"The purpose was to get to the village at daylight and take the Indians by surprise. We were to avoid killing women and children as much as possible. It was about eight o'clock when we saw an Indian on a high point, riding in a circle, their signal of danger. The bugle sounded forward, and away we went. Then for awhile was the most exciting time of my life. As we neared the village the command divided, some to the right, others to the left. The Indians had some of their tepees down and packs on their ponies, and some of the ponies were so heavily packed that when they tried to run the packs pulled them over and they could not get up. The squaws, papooses, dogs, and ponies, all ran to save themselves. The women and children would run to the white men for protection, knowing that they would receive no favors from the Pawnee scouts. The Indians ran to a high point and tried to rally, but could not stand before our carbines. After we chased the Indians four or five miles, they turned on us and followed us back to the village. . . . but a few shells from the howitzers scattered them. . . . Seven of our men were wounded and one scout killed. Sixty-three Indians were killed and wounded, we learned afterwards."

Captain Palmer says: "Two hundred and fifty lodges had been burned with the entire winter supply of the Arapaho band. The son of the principal chief (Black Bear) was killed, sixty-three warriors were slain, and about eleven hundred head of ponies captured. . . . If it had not been for Captain North, with his Indians, it would have been impossible for us to take away the captured stock. . . . We brought back to camp . . . eight squaws and thirteen Indian children, who were turned loose a day or two afterward. . . . Two of our soldiers . . . were found among the dead and three or four died of their wounds. Lieut. Oscar Jewett, the general's aid-de-camp, . . . was shot through the thigh and through the hand, and yet was compelled to ride over forty miles after receiving his wounds. We were absent from camp thirty-three hours; had marched . . . one hundred and ten miles; during that time we had nothing to eat except a few hard tack and some jerked buffalo meat." (*Cf. item for August 30 in diary.*)—Coutant, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

eat. Men nearly worn out. All the plunder brought in by the scouts burned by order of the general, valuable furs, robes, etc. 300 head of mules and ponies captured. Prisoners sent back mounted with letters to chiefs, ordering them to report at Laramie in a moon or again be punished. Break camp after noon and move on down the river, crossing it thirteen times. Bluffs very high and rugged, all look as if they had been thrown up by volcanoes ages ago. Large masses of solid cinder to be seen. Camp at Redrock canon. 10 miles.

August 31—Heavy timber on river, most I have seen since leaving Kansas (that is, the most on the level): Indian camps have been all along the river. Game plenty, but advance keeps most of it out of our sight. Sagewood and greasewood and prickly pears are the chief vegetation; most of the grass eaten by the buffaloes. Muster at dark. March 15 miles.

Sept. 1—Co. E leaves us and goes on a scout, taking eight days rations on pack mules. Going to look for signs of 6th Kansas and Col. Cole's command.⁴⁶ Indians' signs fresher. This makes the end of nineteen months since leaving home, and still going further with no prospect of returning to civilization. Mess off in three messes. 14 miles.

Sept. 2—Mail arrived from Ft. Connor last night under escort of 6th Michigan. Indians likely to cause trouble. Heavy rain; all well soaked. Lay up till noon, drying blankets, washing, fishing, and some writing letters. Break camp and move on. Camp on the river about sunset. March 10 miles.

Sept. 3—Scenery changing; valley wider. Camp in open; soft, heavy timber in rear. Large elk killed near camp. Go fishing with Lieut. Brown after supper.

Sept. 4—with Pumpelly I crossed the river to hunt as neither of us has to march in the ranks. Find ten or twelve black-tailed deer. P. shot but missed. Came on and scared up a young black tail. It ran into the bushes and looked out, I dismounted and drew low, shooting him through covering of heart. He ran on about two hundred yards and fell dead. Fine meat: splendid supper and breakfast for mess. Left my old horse behind, worn out. Drew a sorrel. Two of ox train escort came down. Report train corralled and fight with Indians in which three of them were killed.⁴⁷ Rockets sent up to

46. September 1, General Connor dispatched Captain Marshall with thirty men of Co. E, 11th O. V. C. and Captain North with about twenty of his Indians to march toward Rosebud river, eighty miles away, the proposed rendezvous with Cole.

47. This was Colonel Sawyer's road builders, who with twenty-five wagons and a hundred men were en route from Sioux City to Bozeman by way of the Big Horn, or Bozeman route. They were attacked by Indians, and Captain Cole of the 6th Michigan and two of his men were killed.

signal any of the troops expected. Scouts sent out to make discoveries. 16 miles.

Sept. 5—Lie in camp and wash clothes, rest, and herd stock. Pawnees come in and report that Co. E is down the river and will be here in another day. Rockets sent up as signals.

Sept. 6—Break track again and take the back track. Don't know what is to be done, only that we are going up the river. Go off the road hunting all day. Pass old camp and camp about two miles above it. Co. E joins the command, and Co. L California and Omaha scouts go up to relieve the train. 18 miles.

Sept. 7—Move about five miles and camp. Many rumors going around as to what we are going to do. Elk in camp. Firing at them sounds like skirmish drill. 30 of Co. K ordered to scout, to start in morning with five days' rations.

Sept. 8—Scouting party starts; Captain⁴⁸ in command and LeDue as guide. 32 men with pack train and two mules. Pawnees start for Powder river. Expect the command will lie in camp until both parties are heard from. Build "wicky up" and go to bed in the mud before dark for a wet sleep. Everything soaked.

Sept. 9—Rained all night; camp almost flooded. Many moving out to higher ground. Go to bed for another wallow in the mud.

Sept. 10—Sunday. Put all the blankets and clothing up to dry and have a square breakfast of bacon and steak. Orders against any shooting as we are getting close to Indians. Break camp and after marching five miles, camp again. Good grass; put stock out to graze. Many returned from towards Powder river; too many Indians so they are turning back.⁴⁹

Sept. 14—Two of Co. E and two Pawnees start up Powder river to hunt up lost command. We pass Captain Brown's camp. Driving rain. Reach camp at one o'clock. I get pass and go hunting, mounted on pony. Take a long ride and get back at dark; no game. Orders to lay over and feed stock. Rockets sent up every five minutes after dark. March 18 miles.

Sept. 15—Very quiet in camp. Have boiled elk for dinner. Very different from three years ago; then at Harper's Ferry among the Rebels. . . . Now at Tongue river, far from anywhere.

48. Captain Humfreville.

49. Gap in diary, abridged from Coutant, p. 525: September 11, Captain Humfreville returned from Rosebud, reporting no signs of Cole's command. Captain North also returned from Powder river and reported that he found from five hundred to six hundred dead cavalry horses, indicating that Cole had been so hard pressed by the Indians, that he had had to shoot his horses as they had no time to forage. The Indians who were pressing Cole were 5,000 to 6,000 Cheyennes. September 12, the return march to Fort Connor began. September 12 to 14, inclusive. 42 miles.

Co. M men go up the river to meet Capt. Brown's command. Brought word that Arapahoes are disposed to be friendly and are camped along side of Capt. Brown. Johnson brought in antelope and Simpson a deer.

Sept. 16—Still resting. Freeman and Grim go hunting, mounted on ponies. I start with them but get separated from them and run into a band of twelve or fifteen elk. Shoot several times, wounding one. One big buck with horns like a tree top. Grim and Freeman return at dark, having killed one deer and a buffalo. Had fine roast and stew.

Sept. 17—Sunday. Bolton got lost and came suddenly on Indian camp of about thirty, and being unperceived, escaped and came back to camp. Squad of Co. E came back and reported that they have struck trail of other command and had seen where they had eaten mules and horses. Saw signs of Indians in different places.

Sept. 18—Break camp and march nearly all day. Suppose this will be our last camp on Tongue river. The two Co. E boys and the two Pawnees met us on the march, having found Col. Cole's command and brought a squad of fourteen back. The command includes the 12th Missouri and 16th Kansas. Had been out of rations two weeks. Lived on mule meat. Had been skirmishing with Indians for seven days, losing about twenty men and killing a number of Indians. The reason that there was so much dead stock being left behind was that the horses were almost starved from crossing the Bad Lands, where they had no grass for two weeks. Then the cold rain killed them, leaving about 500 men on foot. The men that came in were almost starved; said they would give \$25 for one hardtack. March 19 miles.

Sept. 19—Break up camp at one o'clock. Take different route up river fork from what we came down, but strike the same road a few miles above our last camp going down. Grass has grown nearly a foot in last three weeks. The day, scenery, atmosphere and all nature combine to form a picture that recalls the times three years ago when marching across Maryland. We were having a few of the comforts of civilization, altho marching hard. The leaves that three years ago were green are now a golden yellow, and our last view of Tongue river represents it as donning its autumnal robes. 18 miles.

Sept. 20—Company ordered to attend the general. Leave wagons and go along. Go back on ridge of Tongue river and follow it up for several miles, looking for signs of Capt. Brown's command and for Arapahoes. Find Indians gone. Strike the Virginia City road and follow it to other road and come in rear of train. Letters

left in trees and one buried for Brown, ordering him to Ft. Connor. Two buffaloes killed near camp. 7 miles.

Sept. 21—We break camp, but I do not march with the command for several miles. Go up creek looking for bear; see plenty of tracks that were made last night, but not a bear. Find plenty of wild plums and eat about a hat full. Overtake command going up a big hill. Just then a wounded deer came along and ran into the brush; about twenty men were after it, but getting the first sight, I shot it through the head and killed it and found it was a spike buck, horns about five inches long, single spike. Get three quarters of it, the lieutenant of the signal corps getting the rest. Had fine fry of it for supper and enough left for breakfast. Two bear killed along the road. At one point elk, deer, antelope, buffalo and bear were in sight at the same time. Heavy wind at supper blew all the fire and some of the slapjacks away. After supper went hunting with Pumpelly. Slept in wagon with Mack. 10 miles.

Sept. 22—Nine of us left for a hunt. Saw a herd of buffalo and hundreds of antelope but no deer or elk. Three of us had a great chase after antelope. One shot broke hind leg, next shot broke other hind leg; then we chased about half a mile, the antelope running about as fast as a horse. At last a shot from a revolver killed it. Got one quarter. Came down to camp. All the train in. Squad of Co. E boys in from Connor say that Mackey is discharged. 6th Michigan gone home. About three thousand regulars at Fort Connor and various others. 8 miles.

Sept. 23—McFaddin and Pawnee get an antelope. Strike Crazy Woman's Fork about fifteen miles above camp, then leave it entirely and cross bluffs. Saw some prairie foxes. Indian with badger lariated led to camp. 20 miles.

Sept. 24—Horses strayed and scattered all over the country, could not find mine, so waited several hours. Fed them breakfast of corn as they came in. Put saddle in wagon and rode there for a while. Found horse and rode it rest of day. Train got behind and was out of sight almost all day. Gen. Connor gone on to Fort Connor. We intended to camp a week eight miles from fort, but had no water, so whole outfit came on to Powder river and camped on old camp ground of five weeks ago. Train not in till night. Improvements going on at Fort Connor; a building up, and more on the road to completion. 24 miles.

Sept. 25—Train unloading at fort, laying over (Fort Connor). No mail for us; all left at Laramie. Expect to start in a day or two. Draw only thirteen days' rations, so will have to make it in twelve

days. Horses scattered all along the river. Can't find near all of them, but herders are hunting for them.

Sept. 26—Gen. Connor started for Laramie (fort).⁵⁰

Sept. 27—28 miles.

Oct. 1—Cross the river and march down the north side of Labonte's crossing, then across to south side again; meet supply train for Platte bridge and Deer creek. Hear of fighting and attack on Mormon train. Overtake and pass Cole's command encamped above Labonte's camp. Wagons till dark getting in; mules given out; all the stock tired. Hear that the 11th Ohio and 16th Kansas are ordered to Leavenworth, but will not credit it yet; would be glad. It is a still, beautiful, moonshiny night; boys lying around talking and laughing, taking things easy. 25 miles.

Oct. 2—Reveille at daybreak; command starts early in order to keep before the Missourians; very slow this morning; three hours crossing to Horse Shoe. Came on and camped on Little Cottonwood. Horses giving out all along the road. Capt. Humfreville, Sergt. Brown, and Lee gone down to fort. Quite an alarm in camp about 9 o'clock. The Pawnees went out to bring in the stock and set up such a yelling that we thought the Sioux were coming. All a mistake. March 22 miles.

Oct. 3—Baggage wagons late getting started. Col. Cole passed down during night. Met train loaded with heavy machinery for mining purposes and two threshing machines. See first white woman that we have seen for two months. Cross over the bluffs and camp below Star ranche. Dead body found near camp, man killed by Indians. Boys very uneasy about mail, but curiosity at last satisfied by Sergt. Brown bringing up a bundle of letters. Received twenty-two for my share. Did not receive one from Sue or Lide, which was quite a disappointment. 25 miles.

XI. RETURN TO FORT LARAMIE

Oct. 4, 1865—Get a hurried breakfast just as the advance of the other command comes along. Both commands mixed up clear to Fort. Pass down and camp on Laramie. Missourians below us. Again we pull up at Laramie after two months' absence, tramping.

50. On September 22, Captain Marshall came from Fort Connor with a letter to General Connor with the news that he had been deprived of the command of the District of the Plains. He was blamed for the disastrous Cole expedition, but he had succeeded, Captain Palmer says, in his plan to "carry the war into Egypt." The Indians feared him greatly, and after his removal renewed their attacks.

General Connor remained at Fort Laramie until October 4. He was honored by great celebrations in Denver and in Central City. Still embittered by his summary removal from the command of the District of the Plains, he went to Salt Lake, where he died in 1891 and was buried at Fort Douglas with military honors.

Have marched nearly 800 miles over all kinds of country. We started out with twenty-two extra horses and came back with nearly twenty dismounted men. March 9 miles.

Oct. 5—Lying around camp taking it easy. Try to draw clothing, but requisition too late. Many rumors flying around, but none of them reliable. Co. E starts down to hay ground. Some of the boys leaving in trains for Leavenworth to be discharged. McFaddin and Shotwell trying to get furlough for home. Capt. Marshall mustered out. Lieut. Behymer as first Lieutenant.

[Omission.]

My dear, this bouquet is from me; it is from my garden. Give me a kiss and don't let me wait long. Laramie, March 20, 1866.

Last night of Laramie "Varieties." Many drunk; was sorry to see one in that condition. March 22, 1866.

[Omission.]

May 19, 1866⁵¹—General Inspection of men, horses, and equipment by Col. Otis.

June 15, 1866—Left Fort Laramie. Camp at Cold Springs.

June 16—Camp at Fort Mitchell.

June 17—Chimney Rock.

June 18—Mud Springs.

June 19—Cross South Platte and camp below Ft. Sedgwick.

June 21—Brewai's ranche.

June 24—Ft. McPherson.

July 7, 1866—Ft. Leavenworth.

11th Ohio cavalry mustered out July 14, 1866.

51. It is to be regretted that there is a gap in the diary here for there were important meetings and peace negotiations at Fort Laramie during the period.

Sketches of Early Days in Kearny County

THE sketches here presented of early days in Kearny county, edited and somewhat condensed, are published through the courtesy of Virginia Pierce Hicks who secured them for publication in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Comparatively little has been recorded about the early history of the western counties. Possibly the days of first settlement seem too recent to be considered in the light of history. These sketches are stories of the beginnings of settlement, development and community life in Kearny county.

Kearny county was created by the legislature of 1873 and the boundaries defined as they exist today.¹ In 1883 the county disappeared, the east half of it being included in Finney county and the west half in Hamilton. The original boundaries were once more established by the legislature of 1887 and county organization was approved by Gov. John A. Martin on March 27, 1888. Until this time the name was spelled Kearney, but the legislature of 1889 corrected the spelling to conform to that of the name of General Philip Kearny in whose honor the county was named. The county was twice attached to other counties for judicial purposes. In 1879 it became a municipal township of Ford county and in 1887 was attached to Hamilton county.

NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COUNTY

VIRGINIA PIERCE HICKS

THAT part of present Kansas within the boundaries of Kearny county shared many phases of the early history of the state. The portion north of the Arkansas river was part of the Louisiana purchase; the portion south of the river was included in the disputed territory relinquished to Spain in 1819 and was subsequently under the flags of Mexico and Texas. Zebulon Pike, following the Arkansas river into Colorado in 1806, after his visit to the Pawnee village, passed through the region; and from 1822 until 1872 the caravans of traders rumbled along the historic Santa Fé trail which followed the course of the Arkansas river through Kearny county. The armies of General Kearny and Colonel Doniphan marched across the county during the Mexican war. Indians, hunters, trappers and

1. *Laws of the State of Kansas* (Topeka, 1873), p. 151, sec. 20.

soldiers also followed the trail. In 1865 the government established Fort Aubrey just over the western boundary of the county and stationed soldiers there for the protection of traders.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway Company completed the building of the railroad to the western line of the state in December, 1872, and in the latter part of that year erected a water tank, a small depot, and a Fred Harvey hotel—thus starting a railroad town which was named Lakin, for D. L. Lakin, one of the trustees of the railroad. The Harvey house was located just north of the elm trees, where the houses built by the railroad company for the Mexicans now stand. The small depot was east of the Harvey house and the water tank east of the depot.

It was now that the coming of actual settlers began. The first permanent settler in Kearny county was John O'Loughlin, who was born in County Clare, Ireland, in 1842. He came to America with his mother and two other children in 1850 and settled at Dubuque, Iowa. He came to Kansas in 1861, entering the government service at Fort Leavenworth as a teamster in the department of the quartermaster. He left the government service at Fort Hays, December 1, 1869, and opened a trading post on the military road between Fort Hays and Fort Dodge, doing business with soldiers, buffalo hunters and freighters. He closed out in 1872, when the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé railroad was completed through the state, and, after spending a few months in Dodge City, moved to Lakin in March, 1873. With a small stock of goods he opened a store in a dugout a little east and north of the Harvey house on the railroad right of way and here carried on a thriving trade with the freighters and plainsmen. He built a small dwelling house just north of the right of way and south of where his son, William D. O'Loughlin, now lives. In May of the same year Mr. O'Loughlin was joined by his mother, Mrs. White, and his sister, Margaret C. White, then a girl of fifteen years of age, who was born in Dubuque, Iowa, November 12, 1857. His mother died on August 8, 1878, and his sister kept house for him until her marriage, November 5, 1879, to Thomas J. Pearl. Thomas J. Pearl was born in Wabash county, Indiana, February 14, 1847. He came to Kearny county in October, 1876, as an employee of the Santa Fé and continued in this work for many years. He made Lakin his home for the remaining years of his life.

Another employee of the Santa Fé who came to Kearny county in those early days was Richard Joice. He arrived in July, 1873, and remained here until the '80's. He then went to Grant county with whose early history his name is also identified.

Alonzo B. Boylan was the next permanent settler in Kearny county. Mr. Boylan was born in Canaseraga, Allegheny county, N. Y., July 21, 1841. He began his railroad career at Blakely, Minn., where he was a station agent. Here he met Castella Florence Walter, a young teacher, daughter of a physician at Belle Plain, Minn. They were married in 1869. Mrs. Boylan was born in Miami, Ind., September 3, 1852. In July, 1874, Mr. Boylan came to Lakin. He was operator for the Santa Fé, his work first taking him back and forth on the trains from Dodge City to the end of the division. Later he was stationed at Lakin, and in September, 1875, was joined by his wife and two small children, Lenora Victoria and Ambrose Bradner. The Boylans came into possession of a dwelling house built by the Santa Fé Railway Company. It was the largest house in town and was used for church and Sunday school meetings and social affairs. The house at that time stood to the west of the Harvey house. It has since been moved and remodeled and is now the home of William D. O'Loughlin.

John O'Loughlin, the first merchant in Lakin, established a store in a dugout in 1873. Henry H. Cleaveland broke out the first land for farming purposes on his claims west of Deerfield. John H. Carter proved up the first timber claim. This was east of Hartland. Francis L. Pierce proved up the first homestead after five years' residence. He was also the first one to enclose a farm (quarter section) with a fence. This farm joins Lakin on the west. A. B. Boylan was the first agent for the Santa Fé at Lakin. Mr. Boylan engaged in stock raising and was followed by W. P. Harris as agent. Mr. Moore followed Mr. Harris, and Mr. Moore was followed by James H. Waterman. Guy Potter was first manager of the Harvey house. He was followed by M. Fisher who was manager when the Harvey house was moved to Coolidge in December, 1880. The Harvey house was the scene of a number of social events of the very early days.

Among the first deaths in the county was that of Charles Willis, a horse thief, who was hanged on the railroad bridge over Sand creek west of town in 1877 or 1878 by some plainsmen who took the law into their own hands and administered justice. The first death in Lakin was that of Mrs. Margaret White, mother of John O'Loughlin, who died on August 8, 1878. In 1877 a little child of a Mr. Anderson, an emigrant, died of skunk bite where the family was encamped on the Santa Fé trail, west of town. The little child was buried south of the railroad near the railroad fence, and for

many years the little grave, marked by a pile of stones, could be seen near the stockyards. Harrison (Harry) Burtch, son-in-law of Thomas Morgan, was shot by George Bandall, the first blacksmith of Lakin, in January, 1880, and died three days later. Mr. Burtch and Mr. Bandall had an argument concerning the amount of money which should be paid for a relinquishment on some land three fourths of a mile north of town. After the shooting, which occurred at the depot, Mr. Bandall went a half mile west of town to the home of S. L. Philips, justice of the peace, borrowed an overcoat, and made his way over the river to the sheep ranch of Louis Lais (French Louis). Later he went to the mountains of Colorado and after a long trip, entered a camp, demanding food from the cook. The cook and Mr. Bandall had some words, which resulted in the killing of Bandall by the cook. A child of Harrison Burtch died in 1880. Another death of 1880 was that of Goldie Moore, the little daughter of Mr. Moore, the station agent.

The first cemetery was west of town, on the Chas. S. Smith place. When James Campbell, father of Mrs. Smith, came into possession of the ten-acre tract, he tried to establish communication with the relatives of all those who were buried in the cemetery. Most of the bodies were moved to the present cemetery, but some still rest in what is now an alfalfa field.

The first marriage in the county was that of Miss Steffy and Mr. —. The second, Mr. Steffy, brother of Miss Steffy, and Miss —. The third marriage was that of William Lock and Amy Carter, eldest daughter of John H. Carter. The fourth marriage was that of Mr. Black and Miss Hayward. The fifth was that of a couple at the home of Captain Johnson in Kendall township. These weddings were solemnized in 1880 by Francis L. Pierce, justice of the peace. Thomas J. Pearl and Margaret C. White were married at Pueblo, Colo., November 5, 1879.

The first church service was held in the Boylan home by an itinerant minister. The Rev. Mr. Pratt, of Garden City, preached a sermon in Lakin in 1880. The first Sunday school was organized in the same year. F. L. Pierce was superintendent and D. H. Browne secretary. Meetings were held in the land office of Mr. Pierce, a small frame building on the Santa Fé right of way between the Harvey house and Mr. O'Loughlin's store. The first Catholic service was conducted by a Dodge City priest who said mass at four o'clock in the morning in the Boylan dining room for a congregation composed of railroad men then laying steel on the Santa Fé.

THE BLIZZARD OF 1886

EDGAR R. THORPE

BEFORE the establishment of Kearny county as such, and up until about the year 1890, the greater portion of the county was settled by homesteaders and persons claiming land under the timber culture act of congress.² Practically all the territory lying north of the river and much of that portion on the south, outside the sand hills, was taken up and cultivated as timber claims. The population was largely made up of persons who, as soon as they could obtain title to the land, encumbered it for as much money as was available under mortgage lien. A large majority of these people left the country, and the lands became delinquent for taxes and interest upon the mortgages, which were foreclosed; or in many instances lands were sold under compromise provision of law for the taxes, the titles passing to speculators for a nominal consideration. There followed a series of years in which little or no crops were raised, and the country became practically depopulated.

In 1886 a terrific blizzard passed through the western part of the state, its central path apparently being through this county. Great suffering occurred throughout western Kansas and particularly through this section. The blizzard carried a heavy snowstorm with a wind velocity said to have been 70 miles per hour. Great herds of cattle and other stock perished, and along the Santa Fé railroad fences the animals were piled in large numbers. For weeks and even months thereafter, many men were employed in removing the hides from these cattle. Many of the cattlemen lost almost their entire herds. One outfit lost more than 10,000 animals. This is said to be the worst blizzard that ever visited Kansas. A terrific tornado also came in 1886 which almost destroyed the city of Lakin and entailed heavy losses to the settlers throughout the county. The extent of the damage has never been determined.

The hardships usually encountered by pioneers in a new country were experienced in full by the people of this county. As is often the case, the floating element migrated to new fields and the undesirable citizen returned to his wife's people. Now our soil has been turned and the country is yielding vast amounts of grain, alfalfa and other products.

2. An act to encourage the growth of timber on Western prairies was passed by congress on March 3, 1873.—*Statutes*, 42d Cong., 3d sess., p. 605. The bill provided that any person who would plant, protect and keep in good condition a certain acreage of timber should receive title to a tract of land at the end of eight years. The law was amended several times and finally repealed in 1891.

EARLY LAKIN

JENNIE ROSE O'LOUGHLIN

A TRAVELER motoring at great speed through western Kansas today and grumbling over what he terms inconveniences little realizes what the first travelers had to contend with.

On April 1, 1927, an observer stationed near the old Santa Fé trail reported the passage of two hundred motor cars in a given time. Had he been stationed in the same place half a century earlier he would have reported the passage of prairie schooners whose occupants were going to the frontier to conquer the sod and build homes. They went with the determination and courage necessary to brave the discomforts occasioned by Indian raids, blizzards, prairie fires, hot winds, droughts and grasshoppers. Though some returned to the East, many remained, keeping their faith in a country which seemed at times to deny them a bare living.

Not only these pioneers, but everyone who passed over the Santa Fé trail in the early days, stopped at what must have seemed the last outpost to buy supplies. This stopping place was the first building in Lakin—a dugout.

The Santa Fé railroad was completed to the western state line December 28, 1872. On that day the first cars were run over the entire route from Atchison to Colorado. Immediately after the construction of this road John O'Loughlin saw the advantage of locating a store and trading post at Lakin. In April, 1873, he established himself in a dugout and prepared to supply the needs of the traveling public.

There was no bridge across the Arkansas river from Dodge City to Granada, Colo., so the territory served by this store might be said to extend from the Smoky Hill river on the north to the Red river on the south. After the Indians burned Thomas O'Loughlin's store at Pierceville in 1874,³ this was the only place between Dodge City and Granada where supplies could be obtained. The stock had to be varied in order to meet the needs of trappers, freighters, soldiers, buffalo hunters, and cow punchers. Besides the ordinary line of staple groceries and dry goods, one could buy Sharps rifles, fixed ammunition, ox bows, ox yokes, ox shoes, and everything necessary for the outfitting of an ox-team, Colt's six-shooters, chaps, spurs, saddles, high-heeled boots, bright-colored silk shirts, scarfs and handkerchiefs, Stetson hats, Dutch ovens, and crosscut saws.

3. Thomas O'Loughlin was a brother of John O'Loughlin. His store was burned by a band of Cheyenne Indians.

The last thirty pairs of ox shoes were sold in 1901 by Ernest McDowell to a man who was driving cattle through the country. About the same time the last of the fixed ammunition for buffalo guns was sold to a customer who made a special trip to Lakin for it, having heard that he would find some in this store. One day in the seventies a man from Colorado asked for a crosscut saw. This request was inconsistent in view of the fact that there was not a log in the country; however, the obliging clerk, D. H. Browne, surprised him by taking one from its place on the wall. An emigrant, westward bound, had traded it to the proprietor for groceries. At the same time he had disposed of a barrel of lamp chimneys. This is an example of the variety of goods obtained by trading.

Early settlers relate that herds of buffalo extending as far as the eye could see were roving over the prairies. The meat from these animals was about the only kind to be obtained, although there was some antelope and deer meat. The meat had to be cut, dried, and salted for use. Sometimes as much as a ton was cured. Bill Levitt, one of the first Santa Fé engineers, tells that many times he saw the roof of the dugout shingled with buffalo hams which the train crew ate later with Mr. O'Loughlin in Lakin. There was no eating house here at the time, but Guy Potter soon built one which he sold to Fred Harvey. The manager of the Harvey house obtained here much of the antelope and buffalo meat used in the various houses of the system.

Where the Indians killed one buffalo for food, the hide and tongue hunters killed fifty. This slaughter kept up year after year, thousands of hunters being employed to kill as many as they could. The building of the Pacific railroads divided the buffalo into two large herds which ranged on both sides of the Platte river, the estimated numbers of each being about three million. It was never thought by Western men that it would be possible to kill such a number, but by 1875 the southern herd was practically exterminated and this gave rise to a large industry for Lakin. The buffalo bones were gathered and shipped to the East where their principal use was in the making of commercial fertilizer. Each wagonload of bones weighed about three hundred pounds. The average price was six dollars a ton, and hundreds of carloads were shipped.

One of the things which most impressed Billy Russell as he first rode into Lakin was the sight of huge piles of bones, perhaps thirty carloads, stacked along the railroad track. Another thing was Harry Browne standing in the store door, no doubt wondering who

the tenderfoot might be. Mr. Russell is a native of Boston, and, although he felt quite sure that he could not content himself in Lakin, from that Saturday afternoon until the following Monday morning he became so attached to western Kansas that he has been here continuously since.

During the construction of the Santa Fé railroad buffalo were so numerous as to impede work, and on more than one occasion trains were delayed by running into herds. Guy Potter, an early resident of Lakin, was aboard a train which was delayed one hour and forty minutes at Pierceville waiting for buffalo to cross the track. From the caboose that day the brakeman shot thirteen buffalo.

Trappers brought in many kinds of hides. They were then given fifty and seventy-five cents for coyote and wolf hides on which bounties are now ten and twelve dollars.

It might be imagined that the store keeper's life was dull and prosaic; however, the lines of cattle movement were established so that chuck wagons from the north loaded at Lakin for the roundup on the south, and many times in a single day the clerk was instructed to send bills for one outfit to Chicago, another to Kansas City, and a third to Denver, thus showing the ramifications of the cattle trade. Recently residents of Adobe Walls, Tex., told of driving cattle through Lakin and later making frequent trips with loads of bones and hides which were exchanged for groceries.

The banking facilities at that time were so limited that the keeping of money was a problem. Money belonging not only to Mr. O'Loughlin, but to others who had entrusted it to his care, was concealed in coffee cans, under bolts of calico, beneath kegs of fish, and anywhere that one would not expect to find it. One day a fish keg was moved; under it was a canvas sack containing one hundred fifty dollars whose whereabouts had long since been forgotten.

As time went on it was found necessary, in order to handle the increasing trade, to move the store into larger quarters. For a time after that the dugout served as a storehouse but was later torn down. Children playing on the site found several dollars in small change thought to have dropped down between the board and dirt walls where it had been put for safekeeping.

When the new building was erected in 1879 Lakin could boast of the Harvey house, section house, station, Theodore Brown's drug-store, the O'Loughlin store, the Lakin *Eagle* office, Potter & Mitchell real estate office, Gray & Jones Supply Company, all of which faced the railroad. For that time and place a store thirty by fifty feet

not only looked but seemed as large to the citizens of Lakin as Marshall Field's.

A. B. Boylan, the first telegraph operator and station agent, located in Lakin in 1875. Previous to that time he had made his home in Dodge, but made daily trips to the end of the line. He carried his telegraph instrument in the caboose and, whenever communication was necessary, attached the instrument to the wire. After the station was built he was transferred to Lakin. He was also the first postmaster.

Joseph Dillon came to Lakin in 1879, on the first of May, and when Franklin Pierce arrived on the third, the Dillons were planting their garden. Mr. Pierce recalls the first time he ever saw Maria Dillon, now Mrs. D. H. Browne. She was planting potatoes. The season was very dry, so the crop was a failure, but in the fall they dug up the potatoes and ate them.

Mr. Pierce also decided to try his luck gardening but thought it best to confine his activities to raising watermelons. He was very successful in this undertaking and when the melons were ready for market offered to sell a wagonload to Mr. O'Loughlin, who said he could not use a wagonload but would take two dozen. When Mr. Pierce loaded the wagon he found that the box would not hold a dozen and a half. The same year he planted the large grove of trees now to be seen west of town. For a time Mr. Pierce was in the real estate business with C. O. Chapman, and later with J. Longstreh.

During the summer of 1879 the Loucks and Dillon residences were built.

In 1882 Mr. O'Loughlin was married. The following year the store building was moved to its present location.

Mr. O'Loughlin early saw the advantage of the allied businesses of farming and ranching. His large holdings included farms and ranches in southern Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas, the best known of which was the Pig Pen ranch of northern Grant county, so called on account of the cattle brand.

Since Mr. O'Loughlin's death in 1915 the business has been under the management of his sons. Fifty-three years after its establishment it marks the trail—a memorial, not only to the founder's foresight and integrity, but to all those who believed in Lakin.

LAKIN FROM 1878

MRS. CARRIE E. DAVIES

EARLY on the morning of November 17, 1878, I arrived from Chicago with my two small children, Tillie and Lewis. After the crowded city of Chicago, the sunshine and the open country seemed very beautiful to me.

We were taken at once to view the town. First we visited the "White House" owned by A. B. Boylan, at that time agent for the A. T. & S. F. railroad. From there we went to the general store owned by John O'Loughlin, and to his small three-room house, where he lived with his sister, Margaret. We next visited the section house owned by the railroad and used to house its section gang. We went last to the small station, where all the company's work was transacted. Mr. Boylan was the only employee. This made up the entire town of Lakin, with the exception of a few small dug-outs where some of the sectionmen lived.

The railroad eating house, where we were to make our future home, was managed by Mr. Fisher, who had as his helpers a clerk, two cooks, a yardman and four girls. There were no dining cars allowed at this time on the railroad and it was the work of this hotel to prepare meals for all passengers. Of course the train service was very limited, since we had but two trains a day, one from the east and one from the west. The train conductors from the west were Dyed Scott and Jack Scott, and from the east were John Bender and Sill and Morgan. These conductors were on the road for many years.

In a few days I saw antelope in great herds, as well as buffalo and wild horses, passing the hotel on their way to the river for water.

After I had been in Lakin a couple of weeks my friends were kind enough to give a ball for me, and in order to have a crowd our friends came from Pueblo on the west and from as far as Kinsley on the east. The music was furnished by the Pueblo band.

The whole town was in a state of excitement over what was to be our first wedding. Margaret White was to be married to Thomas Pearl. A home wedding was out of the question in those days as it was necessary to go either to Pueblo or to Dodge City for a license and someone to perform the ceremony. These young people chose Pueblo and were accompanied to that city by Mrs. Roberts in the capacity of chaperone. They returned to Lakin to establish their home. Their eldest child, Maude, who afterwards became Mrs.

Nelson, was the first child born in Lakin and was the second girl born in the county. Alice Carter, now Mrs. David Bates, daughter of John Carter, who located just east of Hartland, was the first girl born in the county. About this time the Dillon family of four children moved to our town. One of them, Maria, is now the wife of Harry Browne. A Mr. Gray started our second store, and next came Frank Pierce with his family, starting life on a claim just west of town. West of him settled Theodore (Dora) Brown and his wife. Mrs. Brown later became Mrs. C. O. Chapman. Harry Browne came from the East about this time to cast his lot in the West and chose our little city as his future home. Mrs. Virginia Pierce Hicks, daughter of F. L. Pierce, has the honor of being the third girl born in the county.

One of my first experiences after coming to the hotel was to serve a party of Indians and their interpreter. The Ute Indians had gone on the war path and had killed the Indian agent, so the government authorities took thirty of them to Washington and they stopped at our eating house on their way. Before leaving the history of the hotel I should like to answer a question frequently asked about the elm trees just north of the coal chute. For many years these elm trees stood out as the only trees in Lakin and they marked the front yard of our old eating house. When we first moved to our old claim just west of town we thought that we must have some trees, so I sent to Florence for a dozen trees, cottonwood and elm. The cost was three dollars and a half. When I received them and was ready to plant them the ground was so hard that it was impossible to dig holes to put them in, so Mr. Fisher, manager of the hotel, bought them of me and planted them in the front yard. And it is with a kindly feeling that I look at these living monuments of my early days.

It was decided that we should have a picnic on the Fourth of July. The hotel offered to donate all cakes and sandwiches and that was a big start towards a good time. We had everything provided, program arranged, when to our amazement Mr. Chapman announced that we could not have a picnic without a flag, but no one felt able to buy one. Mr. Chapman was determined and said that he would furnish the cloth if someone would do the work. Mrs. Dora Brown, Mrs. Frank Pierce and I volunteered and made the flag. We started out on the morning of the Fourth for a grove south of the river which we named that day Carter's grove. And, so far as I know, it still bears that name. We had no automobiles in those

days, neither did we have buggies. We set out on horseback, loading into wagons those who could not ride. Of course it was necessary to have a flag bearer and Mr. Chapman was elected to that position. Dick Joice was to assist him, for the flag must not drag down and get wet as we crossed the river. We were getting along nicely until we reached the middle of the river—and I want to say before I go further that the river in those days was not as you see it now; it was a real river; no ditches took water out and the stream flowed from bank to bank, and during high water was over the banks. In midstream Mr. Chapman's horse went under and gallant Dick Joice rescued the flag, letting Mr. Chapman get out as best he could, soaked. We spent a fine day with the usual patriotic speeches following lunch and returned in the afternoon to prepare for the ball which Mr. Fisher, manager of the hotel, was giving in the big dining room. Fred Harvey, Sr., noted manager of the Harvey system, and Mrs. Harvey led the grand march. We danced until the early morning hours, for we were all young then, and thought as a fitting end to the occasion we should bring out the flag and salute it. But, to our dismay, the flag could not be found. Someone had taken it. In later years I was told by Frank Fisher that he had last heard of it in Chicago, where it was being preserved as an early-day relic. I am sorry that it could not have remained in Kearny county for, so far as we know, it was the first flag that was ever flown in this spot.

In due time the Santa Fé eating house was moved to Coolidge. The change proved a real hardship for me, for I was housekeeper and had depended on this position for my living; and, too, it left the little town without a place to accommodate travelers. But it was not long until Mr. and Mrs. Loucks started a hotel on the spot of ground now occupied by the Tipton house. It was called the Commercial hotel and was known far and near as a good place to stay. There Mrs. Loucks reared her family. C. A. Loucks, her son, is still a citizen of Lakin.

The community at large decided that we should have a public hall that could be used for any gathering, social, political or religious. Of course we had no money, so a committee went out and solicited until enough was obtained to erect the building. We had many a joyful occasion there. Charles Dillon,⁴ now known nationally, made

4. Charles J. Dillon is widely known as an editor and writer. He was connected with the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* for many years, also the Capper publications at Topeka, and in 1910 founded the chair of industrial journalism at Kansas State College, Manhattan.—See *Who's Who*, 1936.

his first public appearances in recitations before our literary society which met there.

My husband was a cowboy in those days, but thinking there was a chance to make money by running wild horses, he turned to this occupation for several years. For this reason he was given the name, "Wild Horse" Davies, and the name still clings. So far as I know, I am the only woman living who lived in Lakin in 1878. These are only a few of the many events of the early history of Lakin with which I was connected.

FIRST SCHOOLS IN LAKIN

MRS. LENORA BOYLAN TATE

IN THE summer of 1879 Mrs. William P. Loucks, who with her husband and two sons resided on a government claim or homestead near the present site of Deerfield, came to Lakin to determine whether there was a sufficient number of children of school age in and about Lakin to warrant the opening of a private school. After visiting the various families and learning their attitude towards such an institution, she decided to open one.

On November 17, 1879, the first school was opened by Mrs. Loucks in her home, which had been built that year. Later, school was held in a building fourteen by sixteen feet which had formerly been used for a general store. The building had been erected originally by J. H. Potter on his claim by the river, south of town. F. L. Pierce and Fritz Meyer moved it to town and it was purchased by A. B. Boylan from a Mr. Tibbetts, who left Kearny county in 1882, having decided to return to "civilization."

After a succession of private schools, held sometimes in summer, sometimes in winter and sometimes the whole year through, the first public school in Kearny county was established in September, 1884, and school district number one was organized.

The first public school was maintained in the Lakin town hall until 1886, when that building was destroyed by a cyclone. A two-story brick building was begun in the spring of 1886 and completed when the regular term of school opened the following September. All bricks for this new building were made at Lakin. The building had four large classrooms and a bell "ball-room."

Of course the number of students enrolled in school in Lakin in 1886 was small and the new building appeared to be many times too spacious for any future needs. But those who were instrumental in causing the new building to be erected had the faith of all Kansas

pioneers in the future growth of the country. In 1912 it was found necessary to make an addition of two stories, containing two large rooms, to the building erected in 1886.

EARLY HISTORY OF DEERFIELD

VIRGINIA PIERCE HICKS

THE settlement of the Deerfield neighborhood followed very closely that of Lakin. Deerfield received its name from the fact that a large herd of deer grazed in that vicinity in the early days.

Alva Cleaveland, with his sons, Henry and George, filed on land southwest of Deerfield in 1878. In 1882 they were joined by Mrs. Caswell, a sister of Henry and George, whose daughter, Dolly, became the wife of Samuel H. Corbett in 1883. Mr. Corbett came to Kearny county in 1881, first being employed on the XY ranch, owned by Fred Harvey and located south of the Arkansas river. William P. and Dayton Loucks located on land just north of Deerfield in 1879. The Deerfield cemetery is located on land taken by W. P. Loucks at that time. The Loucks moved to Lakin. Allen and Myles Lee secured land east of Deerfield on which they built substantial homes in 1881.

A post office was established at Deerfield in the spring of 1882, and a small store was operated in connection with it. A school was opened in the early '80s,—the territory then being in the Lakin school district.

Mrs. Sarah Lee, who makes her home with her daughter and son-in-law, J. W. Wells, is the oldest settler living in the Deerfield neighborhood. She has been a continuous resident since 1881.

A. G. Campbell, who with his sons has conducted for many years extensive business enterprises in this county, including farming, stock raising, merchandising and banking, located in the Deerfield neighborhood when he first came to Kearny county in 1902.

Since 1900 Deerfield has developed into a thriving and beautiful little city.

KENDALL IN EARLY DAYS

INDIA HARRIS SIMMONS

THE town of Kendall, on the west boundary of Kearny county, is connected with events of historic interest. It was originally called Aubrey on account of its proximity to old Fort Aubrey, a military post established in September, 1865, to protect travelers from marauding Indians on the long stretch of the Santa Fé trail

from Dodge City to Fort Lyon. It was garrisoned by two companies of infantry and one company of U. S. cavalry. Several small skirmishes with Indians took place but there were no important engagements, and in April, 1866, the troops were withdrawn.

The site had been recommended by Col. F. X. Aubrey because of the abundant springs which he had discovered there on the second of his famous rides when a threatened Indian attack compelled him to make a western detour from the "Aubrey Short Route" through Kearny county.⁵

Both fort and springs were named for this famous rider.

For many years Aubrey Station had nothing to give it a place on the map except a spur of track and the inevitable windmill and water tank, but in 1879 five travelers from the East in quest of a location for a store and trading post, settled there and started a little town. They were Andrew J. Crites, Frank Kelley, Francis Merriion Kelley, George Hill and Capt. J. M. Johnson—all men of business ability who later served their communities in offices of honor and trust. Captain Johnson, who was a West Point graduate and a prominent attorney, took an active part in county-seat affairs.

Not being able to secure a post office under the name of Aubrey, the middle name of Mrs. Kelley was submitted by the town founders. This was accepted, so the unusual name Zamora was given to the post office, and for some time there was the confusing condition of a post office, Zamora, within the town of Aubrey.

Among the many ranches started about this time was one owned by six Santa Fé railroad employees—most of them conductors—which took its name and brand from the first letter of the post office and the number of stockholders in the company, and to this day is known as the "Old Z6."

The town grew and many fine residences were built from the adjacent limestone quarries. The name was changed to Kendall, and being centrally located while western Kearny county was attached to Hamilton county, it became the county seat for a time, being so designated by Gov. John A. Martin. Banks, stores and various kinds of business flourished. Good schools and churches, musical and literary organizations influenced its social life.

With the restoration of the former western boundary of Kearny county, Kendall was once more on the line. The county seat of Hamilton county was legally established at Syracuse and the town gradually dwindled to a small hamlet.

5. For sketches of Francis Xavier Aubrey see *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 51; v. 9, pp. 561-562.

Many of the most interesting types of our pioneers were identified with Kendall and the outlying country. It was the home of J. E. (Wild Horse) Johnson, whose interesting stories of capturing the wild horses, and hairbreadth escapes from the Indians would fill a book. From 1873 he rode these southwest prairies, but as the towns were established he found time to assist in many educational and religious movements.

Louis Lais (French Louie), of Louie Springs, was a familiar figure of this same region and had a full share in clearing the plains of buffalo and wild horses so that the fertile land might be ready for the coming of the homesteaders.

FOUNDING A TOWN

MRS. SARA E. MADISON

THE first county seat of Kearny county was located on the Santa Fé railroad, about twenty minutes by train west of the station of Lakin. A town company, organized in Hutchinson, came out in the early summer of 1885, bought of the railroad company a section of land at Hartland station and began the work of plotting and surveying town lots. It was an attractive location a mile north of the Arkansas river. On the south, just over a sand ridge, was an extensive grazing plain of wild land dotted sparsely with cowboys' camps or, less often, homesteaders' dugouts. On the north the prairie seemed boundless, and since has been called the short-grass country. When homesteaders got there they set out to have a community center of their own and called it Chantilly. Chantilly was a candidate for county seat, but it was too far from the railroad and was abandoned.

The town company at Hartland soon was ready to advertise in the Hutchinson papers and had special notices sent to every state for distribution. Then the people began to come—speculators, land seekers, business men and laborers arrived on every train. There was no place to accommodate such numbers, so Mr. McFarland built a large barn and men slept in the stalls and loft. A long table was set up in the driveway and Mr. and Mrs. Cole cooked in a corner of the barn for transient travelers. A. A. G. Stayton accommodated as many as he could, including the town company, on his homestead on the west side. He was then the section boss. The nearest homestead on the east was that of John Carter. The town company made an offer of a free lot to any one who would come and build a hotel. When Mrs. S. E. Madison, who was visiting her

brother in Carthage, Mo., heard about it she accepted the offer. She shipped a car of lumber and hardware, including windows and doors, sufficient to build a small hotel. With the assistance of her son-in-law, H. H. Cochran, the hotel was soon completed and opened for business. It was called the Madison house.

A new station was built to replace the box car then in use. Business increased. A schoolhouse was built on West Broadway and Mr. Hovey was the first teacher. Mr. Burns, a Methodist itinerant, preached the first sermon in the schoolhouse. Main street built up rapidly. Kirtland and Flash were the first bankers. H. H. Cochran was the first postmaster and express agent. L. S. Jones operated the first general store. Doctor Richards and Doctor Gabard were the first doctors. B. D. Williams and Gabard had the first dry-goods store. There were more than five hundred people in Hartland by the fall of 1885.

The permanent location of the county seat began to be a problem, for Lakin thought it should be there. So an election was called on February 19, 1889, and a majority settled the issue—the county seat remained at Hartland. But the question was agitated again and was in litigation for more than a year before the court decided there should be no more elections for county seat for five years.

Business kept up in all branches. G. M. Smith had the first law office and Jesse Osborne was the first lawyer. Mr. and Mrs. Hardin Smith had the first restaurant and barber shop. Several other lines of business were established—lumber yards, coal yards, livery stables, general stores, meat market, etc. A printing press was brought, managed by Joseph Dillon. Ed Watt was printer. Logan Garten was the printer of the *Times*.

A new schoolhouse was built on the hill north of the railroad. Among the first teachers were Mr. Druly, Mr. and Mrs. Hamer, and Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong. Some of the students were June Madison, Nellie Cochran, Mollie Campbell, Alma Newcomb, Myrtle and Etta Tedford, Alice Carter, Opie Reed, Clara Denlinger.

The Kearny house was built just north of the station and was afterwards used for a courthouse. A Presbyterian church was built on Main street, two lots being given by the town company. A free bridge was built over the Arkansas river by the town company, and hundreds of wagon loads of supplies of all kinds were sent over the Bear creek route, a natural pass through the sand hills, to Grant county and other counties on the south. The mail with four or six horses was sent to the south every day. The prospects were encour-

aging for Hartland to become a large city. A saloon was not needed. A young man by the name of Delemaire tried it once. He put up a building and brought his stock of goods and called it a drugstore. But his rooms for cards and gambling did not rent well. His business went the wrong way and there was no gain. He finally died of typhoid fever and his friends came and took him and his property away. The citizens furnished amusement by organizing plays and helping with school entertainments. A large skating rink in the store building of Rosewell & Son was popular with the young folk.

When the time arrived for another election, the county-seat question had to be settled. The courthouse had burned and the tug of war between Lakin and Hartland was imminent. Lakin by some means secured the heaviest end of the voting, got the county seat and moved it from Hartland in 1894. That necessitated all of the county officers moving, too, and then a number of families followed. All of this boomed Lakin and discouraged Hartland. Business men began to move away. Some moved to Ulysses, in Grant county, and other places in the south counties; some went to Colorado and the West. E. S. Snow, who then kept a general store, remained a while after the others left, then gave up and moved to Lakin. The Madison house was taken down, moved to Lakin and rebuilt for a dwelling. From a busy thoroughfare with every encouraging prospect of becoming a large city, Hartland diminished to something not unlike Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, and only a few of the oldest settlers are left to tell the story.

Mrs. Lizzie Gray, who came to Hartland with her husband in the early '80's, is about the only one who has remained with the little city through all of its varying fortunes. She has been the efficient postmistress there for many years.

WESTWARD, Ho!

CHARLES S. SMITH

MY PARENTS came to Hartland, then in Hamilton county, in 1886. As I had a lucrative position in the Indian territory (plowing corn at \$10 a month), it was thought best that I should stay with it. My brother, Fred, was also left behind. While chauffering a team of mules up and down the corn rows I day-dreamed of western Kansas, and when in town on Saturday nights and Sundays exerted myself to learn something about that wonderful country.

A friend told me that he had a magazine containing an article about western Kansas. I borrowed the magazine and read the

article. It was entitled "The Last Buffalo Hunt"⁶ and described a hunt made by C. J. "Buffalo" Jones to capture buffalo calves to put with native cows on the Jones ranch near Garden City. Hartland was mentioned once in the article. It stated that one of the ropers was Ezra Carter, of Hartland. This was not the last buffalo hunt, as "Buffalo" Jones made another in 1887 and brought up thirty-three calves.

In February, 1887, my brother and I received the call to come to Hartland, so we started on the great adventure. I have never had quite the thrill out of starting any place since that I had out of the start for Hartland. We connected with the Santa Fé at Halstead and from there on the train was crowded all the way and the talk was mostly of western Kansas. Two conductors were kept busy collecting tickets.

We found Hartland a thriving little city of perhaps one thousand population. All lines of business seemed to be well represented. There were three hotels, two newspapers, a bank, three hardware stores, one wholesale grocery store, feed stores, livery stables, harness shops, barber shops, a millinery store and five lumber yards.

Five lumber yards in a town of that size sounds as if the lumber business might have been overdone, but waste no sympathy on the lumber dealer. He was doing very nicely. Grant and Stevens counties were being settled and new towns were springing up every few days, each destined to be, according to the advertisements, the "Peerless Princess of the Plains." As Hartland had the only natural pass through the sand hills (see advertisements) much of the freighting was done from there. It was a common sight to see fifty or sixty wagon loads of lumber start out of Hartland in the early morning.

Main street was pretty well built up on both sides from the railroad to the canal. There was one big hotel north of the railroad; several businesses had been established south of the canal and one store south of the river.

The business men were nearly all comparatively young men, all working together for anything that would benefit Hartland. One real-estate man with the alliterative and suggestive name of Peter Platter was one of the few old men in business that I recall. Newspapers and advertisers of that time were much given to alliteration and I have since wondered if the name Peter Platter was not as-

⁶. This article appeared in the *Kansas Magazine* for September, 1886. The author's name is given as E. Nough, obviously a pseudonym.

sumed for business purposes. It seemed entirely too fitting just to have happened.

A daily stage line from Hartland to Ulysses made connections with one from Hugoton to Ulysses. The stage was a real Western stage drawn by four horses, and the driver was just the kind of man you would expect to see in the box if you read Western stories. He boasted that he could drive from Ulysses to Hartland in three hours and seventy-five minutes.

I heard a good deal of talk about the enumerator's coming. I didn't know what it was all about but realized that it had something to do with establishing a county seat, a big thing in those days. One day I saw a number of men getting saddle horses and guns and thought a manhunt was being organized but was told that the enumerator was coming to take the census and this party was going with him to see that Hartland got a square deal. Other towns that were candidates for the county-seat honors were represented in the same way.

It was a wonderful experience to live in this country at that time. Hard times came later and many had to leave, but no old timer regrets that he was here in those days.

CHANTILLY

FRANCIS L. PIERCE

AMONG the phantom cities of the western counties, those communities which sprang up like mushrooms, over night, flourished for a few brief months and then disappeared, was Chantilly in Kearny county.

A great rush was made to western Kansas in 1886 and 1887 to secure land under the homestead and timber claim acts. Every quarter section of government land was taken. In 1887 the original lines of Kearny county were reestablished and Col. S. S. Prouty was appointed by Governor Martin to enumerate the inhabitants and get an expression of their preference for the location of a county seat. Settlers in the northern part of the county decided that it should be in the north and near the center of the county, and suggested that Mrs. Pierce, who had a ranch house and a well ten miles north and three miles west of Lakin on S. 36, T. 22, R. 37, should lay out a town which they agreed to support for county seat. At a meeting of the settlers it was decided to name the town Chantilly, in memory of the battle of the Civil War in which Gen. Philip

Kearny, for whom the county was named, was killed. Lakin and Hartland were also candidates for the county seat.

Mrs. Pierce entered the contest with enthusiasm and determination. She built a hotel, the only two-story building erected, and had a town well dug. Soon many business houses and dwellings were built. A. H. Barnard took charge of the hotel. General stores were opened by Schmiezer Bros. and by W. F. Hazard. J. W. Palmer and his son, Charles Palmer, operated respectively a blacksmith shop and a livery stable. Lon Whorton established the *Kearny County Coyote* which represented the interests of the settlers of the northern part of the county. James A. Wilson was an able attorney and I. A. Knight engaged in land and insurance business. A post office was established and Lon Whorton was appointed postmaster.

A school was opened in the winter of 1886-1887. Mrs. Wilson, wife of James A. Wilson, county attorney, was the first teacher. Cyrus Russell, who later became county superintendent of schools, was teacher in 1887-1888, and Miss Nina Sykes, a sixteen-year-old girl from the Jimmy Kemper neighborhood northeast of Lakin, taught in 1888-1889.

Church services were held, the Rev. Adam List preaching. Sunday school was organized and well attended.

Many social affairs brought the people together. An active literary society furnished entertainment. The debating section fought out and decided many weighty questions. Spelling matches were added to the program. Dances were frequently held at the hotel and people came for many miles to attend. Perhaps the largest community gathering held in the town was the Fourth of July celebration in 1887. Settlers from a distance drove in the day before and camped in order to enjoy the entire day. There were representatives from practically every quarter on the flats and many drove from Lakin and Hartland. The large flag used for the occasion was made by Mrs. F. L. Pierce and Mrs. Major Hall.

The town well was an important feature. Securing an adequate water supply was one of the biggest problems of the early settlers. It was necessary to sink wells from one hundred to two hundred feet, and few could afford to do so. So hauling water occupied much time, and one of the common sights on the prairie was a wagon or sled with several barrels covered with burlap sacks which kept the water from splashing.

Colonel Prouty, finally, after many stirring events, completed the

enumeration of the county in July, 1887. He found the necessary 2,500 population, but the report was contested and thrown into the courts. At this time Chantilly, having the greater population around it, led in the preference for county seat. This will be more easily understood when it is realized that the sand hills were practically without vegetation and unoccupied, that Lakin and Hartland divided the vote along the river and railroad, and that half of the land for ten miles on each side of the railroad belonged to the railroad company under the railroad grant and that settlers were interested only in government land which could be obtained without money consideration.

The years 1887 and 1888 were very dry, and, with general economic conditions unfavorable, many settlers left. The sod houses and dugouts that had dotted the prairie fell into decay and the more substantial buildings were moved away. Few of those who left the county ever returned.

Kearny county was finally organized on March 27, 1888, with a temporary county seat at Lakin. Chantilly now dropped out of the contest, leaving Lakin and Hartland to fight it out. At an election held February 19, 1889, Hartland became county seat for five years. Then another election for the permanent location was held June 26, 1894, and Lakin was the successful contestant. Chantilly disappeared from the map and Hartland's fate has been little better.

THE COUNTY'S LARGEST TOWNSHIP

MRS. LUELLA STUTZMAN

SOUTH SIDE township is bounded on the north by the Arkansas river, on the east by Finney county, on the south by Grant county and on the west by Hartland township.

By right of discovery the French claimed a vast territory, which included South Side, until 1762 when it was ceded to Spain. In 1800 it again became a French possession. After three years under French rule it passed to the United States with the Louisiana Purchase.

There was constant strife about the ownership of some of this territory, and in 1819 the Arkansas river was made the boundary line between the United States and Spanish territory west of the 100th meridian, which passes through Dodge City. Thus, what is now South Side township again became a part of Spain. When the Republic of Mexico was organized this locality became a part of it, and after the Republic of Texas was formed in 1836 there was

continual dispute over the ownership of this part of the Great Southwest. Since the close of the Mexican War in 1848 these hills and valleys have borne allegiance to the Stars and Stripes.

Important information about the organization of the township is thought to have been destroyed when the courthouse at Hartland burned January 4, 1894. However, it is known that our first township board held its first meeting September 19, 1888. First officers were G. H. Tuttle, trustee; D. C. Hawthorne, treasurer, and Emmet Andress, clerk. Space does not permit a list of all those who held offices in the township, so mention will be made only of those still living in South Side. They are: George Stallard, W. H. Johnson, E. A. Smith, Robert Warthen, George Bahntge, J. W. Sinclair, W. H. Stutzman, R. W. Beaty, B. O. Corbett, M. E. Lee, Walter Patton, and Lewis Roderick. W. H. Stutzman holds the record for length of service as township officer, having been on the board for twenty years.

The first year's work was mainly that of laying out roads and building bridges across ditches and laterals. We have had a township board ever since our organization, and the principal business is still roads and bridges, with poisoning prairie dogs and burning fire-guards thrown in for variety.

In the earlier days we always elected a justice of the peace—sometimes two of them—but since the death of C. H. Longstreth and John Andress we take all our troubles to Lakin, including marriages.

Settlers of South Side township were cut off from town by the Arkansas river so when one of the occasional floods came along everyone hurried to town for a supply of groceries, medicines, etc., to last a week or two, for we had learned to expect a span or more of the old wooden bridge to wash out. On one occasion a flood happened to be at its worst the day before a wedding was to be solemnized on the South Side. The groom took no chances on the bridge. A telephone message was sent to the minister, the Rev. I. R. Williams, and minister and guests were taken across the shaky bridge Saturday afternoon. Part of the bridge washed out that night but Claude Stutzman and Lola Greeson were married on scheduled time the next day.

Sometimes there were weeks at a time when only the bravest among us would venture to walk across a plank or swinging rope bridge, or trolley across the gap to make the trip to town. Then he

would bring everybody's mail, some medicine perhaps and other small purchases for his neighbors.

South Side township has the widest portion of the river valley in the county. It also has a wide range of sand hills furnishing excellent grazing for livestock. These same hills also provide a place of refuge in time of flood. In 1921 when the great Pueblo flood was on its way east we were warned so alarmingly that practically all of the residents spent several nights in the hills. The flood came, but no damage was done to buildings.

TRAIL BLAZERS OF SOUTH SIDE TOWNSHIP

MRS. FLORENCE STONEMAN STALLARD

BEGINNING at the west side of South Side township in 1879 was the Moreland Brothers' ranch, now known as the Allen Brothers' ranch. Henry Dutch built a stone house in 1879 two miles below the Moreland ranch. Next was a tent camp south of Hartland managed by "Red River" Anderson, whose nearest neighbor on the east was Frederick Meyer, near our township river ford. He was the father of Fritz and Billy Meyer.

Next and south of Deerfield was the famous XY ranch owned and operated by Fred Harvey of the Harvey eating houses. Sam Corbett worked on this ranch in 1880 or 1881 under Major Falls, manager. Another settler south of what is now Holcomb was Col. W. R. Hopkins, father of Judge Richard J. Hopkins. I am told that this was the entire settlement of the South Side before 1880 and 1881. It was open country to the Red river, with not even a fence except an occasional corral. In the early '80's our township population began to increase. Settlers engaged in farming, fruit growing, stock raising and timber culture.

The lumber from which the first houses were built was either ferried or wagon forded across the Arkansas river. The first bridge was a toll bridge with charges of fifty cents for a team or a vehicle and twenty-five cents for a horse and rider.

The first owners of the South Side ditch were railroad officers who planned the project and saw its future possibilities, but were obliged to sell for lack of operating funds.

The Pioneer school was the first to be standardized in the county.

Our community club was the first to be organized in the county.

Our latest trail blazing was "Achievement Day," October 18, 1930, the first to be held in our county.

THE FIRST SCHOOL OF SOUTH SIDE

MRS. MARY GIBSON SMITH

AFTER their new homes were established the great problem confronting the pioneer settlers of South Side township was the education of their children.

They formed the first rural school district (District No. 18) February 13, 1889, and the organization was completed on March 9, 1889. The members of the first school board were H. M. Smith, Mrs. Ella Seyes and George Shumard.

At the first meeting it was voted to erect a brick school building, and it was a landmark in the South Side community for over thirty years. It was known as the brick school house, and served not only as a school house but as a church and community center.

The first rural annual meeting was held in the new school building on July 25, 1889. Cyrus Russell was county superintendent at this time.

Some of the first pupils of this school were the children of J. O. Parker, J. E. Bennett and Fritz Meyer, Sr. The first teacher was Miss Allie Davis.

At the annual meeting on April 14, 1919, it was voted to build a new school house to take the place of the old brick structure. The new building is a well equipped, modern standard school. It is a credit to the community as are also the three other schools now in the township. Patrons of this school have been pioneers in many worthy projects, so Pioneer was the name suggested by Mrs. W. H. Stutzman and Mrs. E. A. Smith for the new building. Many of the teachers have been graduates of Lakin high school and many pupils from this school have made excellent records in high school and college.

A PARTIAL LIST OF THE COUNTY'S EARLY SETTLERS⁷

Anderson, "Red River."	Bopp, Frank.
Andress, John.	Boylan, Alonzo B.; 1874.
Bandall, George, and family; 1879.	Boylan, Mrs. Alonzo B., and chil- dren, Lenora and Ambrose; 1875.
Barnard, A. H.	Brackett, Theodore T., and family; 1880.
Beckett, Neil; 1886.	Brown, Theodore, and wife.
Beckett, Robert; 1885.	Browne, D. H.
Bennett, James E., wife and chil- dren, Carrie and Lena; 1881.	

7. Writers of the preceding sketches in nearly every instance included a list of names of early settlers. In order to prevent repetition and to bring the names together, this list was compiled by combining individual lists. It is presented as a partial list, only, of early settlers in Kearny county. Approximate dates of arrival are given when known.

- Bruce, Robert; 1885.
Bruner, Isaac.
Burtsch, Harrison, wife and family; 1879.
Carter, John H., and family; 1878.
Caswell, Mrs.; 1882.
Chapman, C. O.
Cleaveland, H. H.; 1878.
Cline Smith, W.; 1890's.
Cochran, H. H.
Coerber, C. A. J.; 1890's.
Commons, John; 1885.
Corbett, Samuel H.; 1881.
Curran, Patrick.
Darr, Henry S.; 1884.
Davies, Warren.
Dillon, Joseph; 1879.
Dillon, Marie; 1879.
Dodds, George; 1886.
Downing, A. R.; 1885.
Dulebohn, G. C.
Durand, James.
Dutch, Henry.
Entz, John; 1890's.
Esklund, Hans; 1890's.
Eyman, George; 1885.
Eyman, James; 1885.
Faldtz, F. W.; 1885.
Foxworthy, Samuel T., and family; 1879.
Friesner, John S.; 1884.
Froehlich, Karl W.
Garrettson, G. G.; 1882.
Glass, R. B.; 1886.
Hale, John; 1885.
Harkness, E. B.; 1886.
Hart, J. C.; 1890's.
Hartman, Christian, 1884.
Hazard, W. F.
Hibbard, Samuel.
Hill, George; 1879.
Holloway, Jacob.
Hopkins, Col. W. R.
Houser, Stephen; 1886.
Hurst, Frederick; 1885.
Jacobson, Nels.
James, Jesse.
- Jessup, A. R.; 1884.
Joice, Richard; 1873.
Keep, E. N.; 1883.
Kell, Edward F.; 1884.
Kell, Lucius; 1886.
Kell, Tom; 1886.
Kelly, R. K.; 1885.
Knight, I. A.
Kuhn, John; 1888.
Lee, Allen, and family; 1881.
Lee, Myles, and family; 1881.
Logan, W. B.; 1886.
Longstreh, Charles H.
Loucks, William P., wife and children, Charles and Fay; 1879.
McConaughey, J. C.; 1887.
McIlwain, B. W.; 1886.
McNellis, John; 1887.
McQueen, Dick.
Madison, Mrs. Sara E.; 1886.
Martin, Emery; 1886.
Meyer, Frederick, and wife; 1879.
Meyer, Wilhelm; 1879.
Miller, John.
Moltz, Adam; 1890's.
Morgan, Thomas, and son, Thomas; 1879.
Mullaney, James; 1887.
Nicholls, H. C.; 1885.
Oliver, Col. E. E.; 1887.
O'Loughlin, John; 1873.
Palmer, Asa.
Palmer, Charles.
Palmer, Ed.
Palmer, J. W.
Pearl, Thomas J.; 1876.
Philips, Samuel L., wife and children, Tillie and Lewis; 1878.
Pierce, Francis L., and wife; 1879.
Potter, Guy.
Rasmussen, Nels.
Russell, Cyrus.
Russell, William; 1881.
Schmiezer Brothers.

- Sower, Fred; 1887.
Stayton, A. A. G., and family;
1881.
Stoughton, Charles.
Sullivan, Daniel; 1880.
Tate, G. H.
Thompson, Hans; 1890's.
Thorne, Capt. ——.
Thorpe, T. N.
Traylor, F. A., and wife; 1886.
Treece, W. C.
Tuggle, Thomas; 1890's.
Vezey, H. S.; 1881.
- Waterman, James H., wife and
children, Blanche and
Charles; 1880.
Watts, Ed.
Wheeler, W. B.
Whitaker, John.
White, A. D.; 1890's.
White, Julian; 1888.
White, Mrs. Margaret; 1873.
White, Margaret C.; 1873.
Whorton, Lon.
Wilson, James A., and wife.
Youngblood, Charles, and
family; 1879.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-second annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society on October 19, 1937.

E. A. Austin, president of the Society, was unable to attend the meeting because of illness of a member of the family, and William Allen White, vice-president, was in Mexico. In their absence Thomas Amory Lee presided at the morning meeting and Thomas A. McNeal presided at the afternoon meetings.

Mr. Lee called the meeting to order at 10 a. m. The first business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1937

During the past year there has been a gradual increase in the number of requests for information received by the Society, the total even exceeding those received during the campaign of last year when Governor Landon was a presidential candidate. Our experience confirms reports from other historical agencies that there is a material growth in popular interest in local and state history. The study of local history continues to be featured by many schools in small towns and rural communities, who write for detailed historical data about their towns and counties. These demands on the staff do not leave as much time as we could wish for organizing our collections. The supervision of federal projects also requires continuous attention. The work of cataloguing and otherwise organizing our vast collections of books, relics, manuscripts, public documents, pictures and newspapers is progressing, however, and it is a pleasure to report that many thousands of items have thereby been made accessible and more useful within the year.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President E. A. Austin reappointed Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee, the members holding over being Thomas Amory Lee, Robert C. Rankin and Chester Woodward. At the first meeting of the committee following the annual meeting Mr. Lee was elected chairman. Due to illnesses and other unavoidable causes only five meetings of the committee were held. The advice of the members was sought in all matters of consequence, however, and in accordance with the constitution they approved expenditures.

APPROPRIATIONS AND THE LEGISLATURE

Appropriations requested for the biennium beginning July 1, 1937, were filed with the budget director last fall. Our requests included \$900 for additional newspaper racks, an increase of \$150 in the contingent fund, two additional clerks, and \$700 for catalogue card cases. For the Shawnee mission an increase of \$1,250 in the repair and maintenance fund was asked, and \$25,000 was requested for the restoration of the north building. For the first capitol building

an increase in the salary of the caretaker from \$450 a year to \$600 a year was asked, as well as an increase of \$90 in the maintenance fund. In addition to these items, the secretary asked the legislature for restoration of salaries to the 1931 figures and sought the support of members for the employees' old age retirement bill.

The following were received: \$900 for new newspaper racks, an increase of \$250 in the contingent fund, one additional clerk, an increase of \$250 in the maintenance fund at the Old Shawnee mission, an increase of \$50 a year in the salary of the caretaker and an increase of \$75 a year in the maintenance fund of the old capitol building. The retirement bill which deserved passage was lost in committee. Salaries of all state employees receiving \$2,400 or less per year were restored in full and all others received a restoration of ten percent, based on existing salaries.

The session was the longest in the history of the state and had to deal with many important and pressing matters. It is felt that while the Historical Society did not receive everything it requested the appropriations were all that could be expected. In passing it may be of interest to say that many new legislators do not know what the Historical Society is, and it is difficult to get them to visit the building during the session, but invariably when they do take the time to inspect the collections and hear of our work they become keenly interested.

FEDERAL WORK PROJECTS

Much work has been done during the past year by workers employed under the Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration projects sponsored by the Society. Employment has been uninterrupted. Several of the workers have been with us for two years or longer and are making excellent progress with minimum supervision. Members of the Historical Society's staff wish to express their appreciation to these persons for their alertness and willingness to perform tasks assigned them. Since these workers are distributed within the Society's several departments, a discussion of work accomplished is incorporated in the department reports.

From nine to fourteen workers have been regularly employed sixteen days a month each under the WPA project. From October 6, 1936, to October 5, 1937, the federal government's contribution was \$9,032.63 for salaries and twelve dollars for typewriter rentals, making a total of \$9,044.63. The Society's expenditure for the same period was approximately \$240 for typewriter rentals and working materials. The Society, as a part of its contribution as sponsor, is also credited with some of the time given the project work by its staff members and for the office space provided the workers, but this allowance is not included here. During the past year the project was renewed once. Funds for the present project will be depleted within the next few weeks. Another renewal proposal has been submitted to continue the work. We have been informed that the Washington office will accept the proposal.

Under the NYA project, which also has operated continuously throughout the year, from three to seven young persons have been employed six days a month each. The federal government has contributed approximately \$1,300 in salaries for the operation of this project.

Many persons have felt the need for an annals of Kansas beginning where Wilder left off in 1885. To supply this chronology the Society in December,

1936, filed application with the WPA to sponsor a project to bring these annals to date. The Washington office rejected the proposal, however, on the ground that it conflicts with the work of the Kansas federal writers' project. If the writers' project plans to publish a chronology of Kansas events it possibly will not be as extensive or thorough as Wilder's *Annals*.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

The requests made of this Society range from telephone messages asking whether Kate Bender actually escaped or was secretly killed, what was the date when Hannibal crossed the Alps and how many elephants did he take with him, to extended visits of serious scholars consulting during their stay hundreds of books and documents. It would be futile to attempt to list all of even the serious questions asked of this Society. But it may be of interest to list the subjects on which rather extensive research has been done. There has been a noticeable increase in the number of these research subjects during the year, and from all departments of the Society. These subjects are grouped here under several rather broad headings:

Agriculture: Economic survey on the mechanization of agriculture; grain market trends. Biography: Jerry Simpson; Charles Robinson; Sen. W. A. Harris; W. M. Mathewson; Jedediah Smith; Abraham Lincoln. Economics: sociological effects of drought on Haskell county; economic development of Gray county; income tax in Kansas; legislative compensation; history of child labor amendment in Kansas; legislative council evaluation. Education: Pratt county schools; history of education in Butler county; education in Rawlins county; Franklin county education. Foreign influences: Quaker settlement in Cherokee county; French place-names in Kansas; Catholic Osage mission in Kansas. Journalism: The Kansas City *Kansan*; histories of press associations in Kansas; newspaper participation in the Kansas struggle. Literature and Music: Kansas poetry; anthology of Kansas literature; musical organizations in Kansas. General: Santa Fé trail; Anti-Horse Thief Association; Russell, Majors, and Waddell, freighters; Southwestern history; Negro exodus; chronology of current events; Union Pacific railroad; Aztec Indians; boundary lines of counties; church histories; Cherokee neutral lands; Kansas State Banking Association; data for the *National Geographic Magazine* article "Speaking of Kansas" which appeared in the August, 1937, issue.

LIBRARY

During the year the library received over a thousand more requests for information than during any previous year. There are two events that doubtless had something to do with this increase: the seventy-fifth anniversary of the state, and Governor Landon's nomination, which attracted attention that continued throughout the year.

The Society's federal work projects demand much assistance from the library, and outside workers on the federal writers' project are a continuous source of inquiry. These requests frequently concern minute items of state, county and local history and the proper answers often consume much time. The loan files of historical material were mailed to 560 people. Most of this loan material went to grade schools for use in their Kansas history projects.

The genealogical collection is being added to steadily. It is recognized as one of the best collections on family history in the country. More than a thousand fairly extensive researches were made in this library during the year.

Topics pertaining to early Western history, the Indians of North America and other general material in American history were made the subject of research by more than 800 persons this year.

Much constructive use was made of WPA workers assigned to the library. Of particular value have been the projects covering filing cards in the Library of Congress depository catalogue, and the revision of the general catalogue. The loan collection, consisting largely of typed material on subjects of Kansas history, has been greatly enlarged with the aid of WPA typists.

There has been an increasing demand for the Civil War records of Kansas. NYA workers have begun an index to the Civil War roster of Kansas which it is hoped will be completed next year. NYA workers have also helped to check the literature collection and a number of the Society's early periodical files.

PICTURE COLLECTION

In 1933 the secretary was authorized to employ a full-time cataloguer out of membership fee funds to catalogue the Society's collection of pictures. The 18,000 daguerreotypes, photographs, prints and paintings brought together through the long life of the Society were organized only in a loose classification before this work was undertaken. It was always difficult and sometimes impossible to find pictures when wanted, and the subject groupings were wholly inadequate. It was discovered that only three or four collections of pictures in the country had been catalogued, and a study of these systems proved that they were not entirely adaptable to our use. The system finally worked out was based on the general classification system devised by the Library of Congress as adapted by the Minnesota Historical Society. It had to be changed in numerous respects to fit the needs of the Kansas collection and to permit expansion in the future. Each picture had to be considered not by itself alone but for its usefulness as a possible illustration of several subjects. There are very extensive cross references in the catalogue. This has been a tedious task, partly because so much of the work was pioneering, but largely because of the number of pictures. The man first employed on the job resigned and it was completed last spring by Russell Hickman. In addition, a number of WPA workers typed and filed cards and helped sort pictures. The cost for salaries was \$1,700. The secretary and the staff are pleased to announce the completion of this work and to say that it is proving highly successful.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Fifty manuscript volumes and 17,614 separate manuscripts have been added to the Society's collections during the year. Unusual interest attaches to some of these gifts.

From Emil Hurja, nationally known political figure, were received three letter press books of John Pierce St. John, governor of Kansas, 1879-1883. The books cover the years 1879-1882, and while the letters are generally personal in character, there are many bearing on his public activities such as prohibition, the freedmen's relief association, etc.

The Kansas State Planning Board gave records of registered livestock brands, 1855-1937. These records, compiled under the direction of the board, and numbering 17,500, were taken from official records in ninety-three Kansas counties. Each item gives the name of the livestock owner, date of registra-

tion of brand, types of livestock on which it was used and a sketch of the brand.

The Society is indebted to Mrs. Elam Bartholomew, of Hays, and the Rev. J. E. Bartholomew, Topeka, for one of its most unusual diaries. It was kept by the late Dr. Elam Bartholomew, over a period of sixty-three years—1871-1934. This record of Doctor Bartholomew's life is also a record of the development of the western counties in which he made his home. Doctor Bartholomew was an authority on fungi and at the time of his death was curator of the mycological museum at the Fort Hays State College.

Ellsworth Ingalls gave five valuable letters from the papers of his father, John James Ingalls.

The city commission of Kansas City has placed with the Society "Journal A" of Wyandotte City, 1858-1866.

Special mention must be made of the work of the Dickinson County Historical Society which has sent in valuable manuscript material including a copy of "Book 2" of the Dickinson county marriage register.

The Wichita chapter, D. A. R., gave typed copies of the records of the First Presbyterian Church of Wichita.

Indexing of the Society's correspondence volumes by NYA workers has been continued under the supervision of this division. A typist on the WPA project is making copies of letters in the letter press books of Thomas Ewing, Jr., and the Leavenworth law firm of Sherman, Ewing & McCook, 1857-1861. The letter press books were lent by Thomas Ewing of New York. The letters are of particular interest because of the prominence of the writers and their activities during the years covered.

The Society is indebted to the following for gifts during the year: Dr. Charles A. Arand; F. E. Armstrong; Mrs. Elam Bartholomew; the Rev. J. E. Bartholomew; Mrs. S. J. Brandenburg; Edith Clift; Mrs. Maud M. Cramer; Charles Curtis estate; D. A. R., Wichita chapter; Mrs. Effie H. Dickson; Dickinson County Historical Society; Orrie S. Dille; Federal Writers' project, Dodge City; Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald; Hugh C. Gresham; O. G. Guttry; Mrs. Frank H. Hodder; Emil Hurja; Ellsworth Ingalls; Icie F. Johnson; Wm. A. Johnston estate; Mrs. Ruth Burge Kambach; Kansas State Planning Board; city commission, Kansas City; Cad W. Kirkpatrick; Thomas Amory Lee; Mrs. Melissa Lynch; Mrs. J. L. Miller; T. A. McNeal; Warren L. Matthews; Adelaide Morse; Paul Popenoe; Willard Raymond; A. W. Relihan; Mrs. A. B. Seelye; A. E. Sheldon; Edwin R. Squier; Mrs. F. W. Stout; Mrs. W. A. L. Thompson; Wichita City Library; Pliny A. Wiley; Scott Williamson; Woman's Kansas Day Club; Lyman C. Wooster.

STATE ARCHIVES

There were many accessions from various state departments during the year ending June 30, 1937. These documents, including official correspondence of Governors Harry Woodring and Alf M. Landon, came from the offices of the governor, the state auditor, the secretary of state and the state board of agriculture, totaling 586 bound volumes and 123,983 manuscripts. George A. Root, curator of archives, who, it will be of interest to know, is now the oldest employee in the state in point of service, is an authority on many phases of Kansas history, but particularly on old roads and trails and river crossings. He has prepared a map of the early trails of Kansas and his articles on ferries in *The*

Kansas Historical Quarterly have been of unusual interest. He is now preparing a map on which fifty or more of the outstanding historical sites in the state will be located. This map will be the basis of a map to be published by the state chamber of commerce.

WPA workers are being employed to organize and catalogue three of the important collections of the archives department. The archives cataloguer and a WPA typist are listing and describing the "lost" towns of Kansas. These include abandoned townsites, post offices changed in name or moved or put on rural free delivery. It is surprising to learn that the names beginning with "A" now number 250 and those with "B" total 435. The origins of the town names of Kansas range in time from Old Testament days and in place from nearly every corner of the world. The Civil War named many of them and the World War changed some of them, as, for example, Germantown in Brown county, which became Mercier in honor of Cardinal Mercier of Belgium. Twenty-five Kansas town names began with Mount and seven had salt as a prefix. Information regarding these abandoned towns has been collected for years by the archives department and comes from hundreds of scattered sources.

In the report last year it was stated that 2,800 names in the 1855 census of Kansas had been indexed with the help of WPA workers. During the past year this census was completed, the total being 6,000 cards. Twenty-four thousand names have been indexed in the 1860 census. These census indexes are of constant value. We receive many requests from individuals, and from insurance agents who wish to check the ages of clients. Also they are important to genealogists; in some states the early census records have been indexed and published. Unfortunately a cut in the WPA personnel removed three employees from our project and it was necessary to suspend this work. If the quota is increased this winter it will be resumed.

A third undertaking in the archives department with WPA workers is the cataloguing of the state's corporations. These cards are made from the secretary of state's corporation copy books held by this Society. This classified index shows the beginning of all the industries and many other activities of the state. For example, there are hundreds of cards under each of these classifications: Oil, mining, banking, unions, irrigation, insurance, universities, livestock, and telephones. There are 4,700 cards showing the churches organized in the state, 1,200 town companies, and 1,300 railroad companies, most of the latter chartered during the boom days of railroading. Without this index it would be impossible to bring together all this information about these undertakings and activities. It makes possible a complete history of any line of chartered endeavor in Kansas. During the year 62,000 cards have been added to this catalogue, bringing the total to 117,000. Two thousand of these cards list charters that were authorized by the legislatures of 1855 to 1863, before the secretary of state began issuing charters. To date, the index lists of Kansas are from 1855 to 1912.

NEWSPAPER SECTION

The employment of a new clerk on July 1 as authorized by the 1937 legislature is relieving somewhat the congestion in the newspaper division. The legislature also authorized the installation of steel shelving, valued at \$900, to house part of the out-of-state newspapers which have been stacked on boxes

and benches for twenty years. The shelves will be purchased during the next fiscal year.

Files of Kansas newspapers preserved by libraries and institutions located over the United States are listed in the 791-page volume, *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, a Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, published last spring. A list of the Society's collections was revised by this department for inclusion in the publication. The *History of Kansas Newspapers* published by the Society in 1916 was the basis for the Kansas list revision. The *History* does not give the volume and number of the first issue of each newspaper in the various files, hence it was not possible to learn from it whether or not the first number preserved by the Society was the initial issue of the newspaper. The editors of the *Union List* desired the information and as many of these files as possible were checked before the *List's* deadline so that much of this information was included in the volume. After publication of the *List* the remaining files of weekly newspapers were checked and the whole compilation was bound for future reference. A check of the early files of daily newspapers is also planned.

The usual number of readers has made use of the Society's newspaper collection which now totals over fifty-four thousand bound volumes. Of this number, 44,307 volumes are Kansas newspapers. The Society is now receiving regularly for filing in its Kansas collections 61 dailies, 13 semiweeklies, 499 weeklies, 25 fortnightlies, 11 semimonthlies, two once every three weeks, 69 monthlies, 7 bimonthlies, 20 quarterlies, 11 occasinals, two semiannuals and one annual, coming from all the 105 counties of the state.

The year's extra accessions are unusually valuable. Files of the *Fort Scott Democrat* containing 101 issues dated from July 14, 1859, to September 21, 1861; four issues of the *Fort Scott Western Volunteer* dated in 1862, and twenty-four issues of the *Fort Scott Bulletin*, from May to October 18, 1862, were donated by Mrs. Albert H. Campbell, of Fort Scott, through her son, R. B. Campbell. Previous to this time the Society had only five issues of Fort Scott newspapers for the period. Mrs. Charles A. Coe, of Lawrence, contributed twenty-two volumes of the *Chase County Leader*, of Cottonwood Falls, from March 4, 1871, to March 5, 1903, the first four years of the file being needed to complete our own. William Atlee Sears on a recent visit to Topeka learned that files of his paper, the *Leon News*, were missing for the period 1919 to 1923. He gathered up a large number of these issues and gave them to the Society for its files.

Other accessions include: Files of *Landon Marches On*, published at Cleveland, Ohio, during the 1936 Republican national convention, from Thomas Amory Lee and J. F. Jarrell; five French newspapers dated in March, 1919, and an issue of *The Stars and Stripes*, of June 13, 1919, from Robert Beine, of Topeka; six volumes of *The Industrialist*, of Manhattan, dated in the 1880's and 1890's, from Dr. J. T. Willard, of Manhattan; miscellaneous issues of the *Philatelic Gossip*, of Holton, 1924 to 1927, from W. B. Skibbe, of Topeka; forty-six bound and nine unbound volumes of the *Merchants Journal*, of Topeka, dated from September 21, 1907, to February 2, 1935, from Paul Lovewell; *The Western Argus*, Wyandotte, September 14, 1858, an "Extra," and the *Wyandotte Herald*, April 5, 1886.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 32,606, an increase of 1,829 over the preceding year.

The number of accessions was 33. Among the relics acquired was a large Pawnee jar found in 1934 on Coon creek near Barnes, by T. C. Dodd, of Linn, who gave it to the Society. It was sand and gypsum tempered, with a capacity of about fourteen quarts, and Mr. Dodd worked approximately sixty hours to match the pieces and cement them together. A Pottawatomie otter medicine skin used by that tribe in medicine dances was obtained from John O'Bennick and his daughter, Mary Tohee, members of the tribe living near Mayetta. It had been in their family nearly 200 years. An old French flute used by the aide-de-camp of the Emperor Maximilian during his fateful expedition in Mexico was presented in the name of her mother by Miss Irma Doster. The flute had been presented to Justice Frank Doster in Mexico. A large log from the old John Brown fort near the scene of the Marais des Cygnes massacre was presented by Mrs. John A. Hall, of Pleasonton. A number of relics, as well as books and documents came from the Charles Curtis estate, and from the families of Chief Justice William A. Johnston and Dr. Frank H. Hodder. There were also many souvenirs of the Landon campaign.

Many of the collections in the museum were cleaned and rearranged. All the accession records were recopied and new file cards prepared. Approximately 250 large display cards and numerous smaller ones were made with pen and brush. This work was done with the assistance of two WPA workers.

ACCESSIONS

Total accessions to the Society's collections for the year ending June 30, 1937, were as follows:

Library:

Books (volumes)	978
Pamphlets	3,376
Magazines (bound volumes).....	348

Archives:

Separate manuscripts	123,983
Manuscript volumes	586

Private manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts	17,614
Volumes	50
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	217
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	753
Pictures	2,071
Museum objects	33

These accessions bring the totals in the possession of the Society to the following figures:

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines....	371,731
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	1,057,347
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	27,809
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	10,919
Pictures	17,744
Museum objects	32,848

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its sixth year, five volumes already having been published. It has established itself among the leading state historical magazines of the country and is each year becoming more popular with the members of the Society. It is widely quoted by the newspapers of the state and is used in many schools. A new feature that has been favorably received is the department, "Bypaths of Kansas History." These short, human-interest articles and out-of-the-way items often illustrate more clearly than more pretentious studies the events of the state's history.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Mention has been made of the appropriations for the upkeep of the mission property, consisting of twelve acres of ground and three large brick buildings now nearly 100 years old. It is hoped that the request for enough money to restore the north building will soon be allowed by the legislature. This building in many ways is the most interesting of the three. Almost all the original floors, partitions, mantels, lath, and other woodwork are still in the building.

The grounds and the buildings are being constantly repaired and improved. The outstanding undertaking of the past year was in the second floor of the east building. Some years ago when the property was in private hands this building was converted into a roadhouse and eight or ten small rooms were constructed on the second floor. Under supervision of the state architect these partitions were removed and all the space between the two stairways was converted into a large assembly room. The modern hardwood floors were removed and the original wide oak boards were repaired. The walls were plastered and painted and new lighting equipment installed. Under the direction of Miss Marjorie Cupp the room was attractively decorated and furnished. The many societies and individuals interested in the mission and desirous of meeting there have been delighted with this work.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The first capitol building, on Highway 40 in the Fort Riley reservation, continues to attract many visitors. During the year ending September 30, 1937, there were 13,718 visitors, about forty percent being from other states.

This report would be incomplete without mention of the members of the staff of the Society. They are uniformly efficient and courteous. The secretary is pleased to acknowledge his indebtedness to them for the accomplishments noted herein.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the report of the secretary its approval was moved by Fred B. Bonebrake, seconded by W. C. Simons, and the motion carried.

Mr. Lee then called for the reading of the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Mary Embree, which follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT

STATEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

From October 20, 1936, to October 19, 1937

Treasury bonds on hand.....	\$3,500.00
Balance, October 20, 1936.....	2,308.91
Refund of money advanced for postage.....	355.25
Annual membership dues.....	159.00
Life membership fees.....	170.00
Interest on treasury bonds.....	146.25
Total receipts	<u>\$6,639.41</u>
Expenditures:	
Chairs for 1936 annual meeting.....	4.00
Subscriptions	120.25
Traveling expenses	77.35
Extra clerk hire.....	750.00
Christmas checks to janitors.....	13.50
Pictures	4.00
Postage	326.00
Stencils	7.62
Money advanced for supplies.....	8.95
Coal for First Capitol building.....	7.75
Hauling	3.50
Premium on bonds of secretary and treasurer for 1936 and 1937..	20.00
Flowers	7.14
Rent of safe deposit box.....	3.30
Museum object	15.00
Total expenditures	<u>\$1,368.36</u>
Balance, October 19, 1937.....	<u>5,271.05</u>
	<u><u>\$6,639.41</u></u>

Balance consists of—

Treasury bonds	\$3,500.00
Cash	1,771.05
	<u><u>\$5,271.05</u></u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u><u>\$950.00</u></u>
Balance, interest, October 20, 1936.....	<u><u>\$107.42</u></u>
Interest from October 20, 1936, to October 19, 1937.....	<u><u>27.80</u></u>
Total amount received.....	<u><u>\$135.22</u></u>

Expenditures:

Goodspeed's Book Shop, New Hampshire books.....	\$74.53
<i>History of Jaffrey, N. H.</i>	13.38
<i>Anthony Taylor Family History</i> , N. H.....	15.00
Total expenditures	<u><u>\$102.91</u></u>
Balance, October 19, 1937.....	<u><u>32.31</u></u>
	<u><u>\$135.22</u></u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u>\$500.00</u>
Balance, interest, October 20, 1936.....	<u>\$40.68</u>
Interest from October 20, 1936, to October 19, 1937.....	<u>13.87</u>
	<u><u>\$54.55</u></u>

No expenditure.

THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND

Principal, treasury bonds (interest included in membership fee fund), \$1,000.00
 Respectfully submitted, MARY EMBREE, Treasurer.

At the conclusion of the reading of the report of the treasurer its approval was moved by Robert Stone, seconded by I. V. Morgan, and the motion carried.

The report of the executive committee upon the treasurer's report was read by Mr. Lee, as follows:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 19, 1937.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the accounts of the treasurer have been audited by the state accountant and they are hereby approved.

THOMAS AMORY LEE, Member of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Lee stated that the report of the executive committee stood approved if there were no objections.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Mrs. A. M. Harvey in the absence of the chairman, Dr. James C. Malin:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 19, 1937.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations begs leave to submit the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

William Allen White, Emporia, president; J. M. Challiss, Atchison, first vice-president; Robert C. Rankin, Lawrence, second vice-president.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES C. MALIN, Chairman,
 MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
 MRS. HENRY F. MASON,
 THOS. F. DORAN,
 THOS. A. McNEAL.

The report of the nominating committee was accepted and referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

There being no further business to come before the board of directors, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2 p. m. The members were called to order by Thomas A. McNeal, who asked C. M. Correll, in the absence of President Austin, to read the president's address:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

Ladies and Gentlemen—Members of the Kansas State Historical Society, Friends and Guests:

It is the custom and the law of this Society that at each annual meeting the president shall present an address on such subject as he may select. This may be considered a substitute for such annual address for I find myself in New York City, far distant from the annual meeting.

The president of this Society has not many other duties than the preparation of this address, except to preside at the annual meeting and at the annual meeting of the board of directors immediately preceding, at which the succeeding officers are elected, and to appoint two members of the executive committee. When this annual meeting adjourns, the bylaws provide that the secretary and the executive committee shall have the power to carry on and perform the business of the Society.

Though a year of ordinary length has elapsed since my election as president of the Society, I have not found time to prepare a satisfactory address due the honor conferred upon me. Sickness and death and attendance at the bedside of still a third friend have consumed much of that year and distracted my attention and mind from the necessary subjects of such an address.

I have nevertheless read many books published this year which I thought would give me somewhat of a background appropriate for a paper to read before the Kansas Historical Society. Four of them are: *Sod and Stubble*, by John Ise; *The Sod-House Frontier*, by Everett Dick; *Coronado and Quivira*, by Paul Jones; *Man, the Unknown*, by Alexis Carrel.

Also I have gone through some little of the *Virginia Historical Index*. Which leads me to the idea of asking every member of this Society to furnish our collections with their family history as far back as possible as preserving one of the best materials for Kansas history. It has been an old custom to record the births, marriages and deaths in family Bibles and transcripts of such records have always been found to be very valuable historical material. In the absence of such record, the memories of members and their family and friends, written out and deposited in the collections of the Historical Society, would be very acceptable and add greatly to the preservation of the materials which make the history of this state.

But the last book which has fallen into my hands, is *Forty Years on Main Street*, which tells me that I could not do better than to limit my substitute for an address here to a few quotations manifesting the brilliant "intelligent discontent" which characterizes the next president of this Society, William Allen White. Since the publication of his famous editorial "What's the Matter With Kansas," he has been known as one of the freshest, most vigorous, most intelligently human writers of our political commentators.

William Allen White came to Emporia and bought the *Emporia Gazette*,

June 1, 1895, over forty years ago. On June 3, 1895, appeared his "Entirely Personal" salutatory editorial to his gentle readers announcing that the editor would do his best to represent the average thought of the best people of Emporia and Lyon county, with no axes to grind, that he would not be running his paper for political pull, that he would try to make and leave an honest name behind him, and as a forerunner of his later well-earned title as a phrase maker, he closed with this characteristic sentence, "The path of glory is barred hog-tight for the man who does not labor while he waits."

Ten years before he had quit the College of Emporia because he thought it was not right to let his mother keep boarders to enable him to go to college; so he became a printer's devil in the offices of the *El Dorado Democrat*. In the introduction to *Forty Years on Main Street*, R. H. Fitzgibbon says:

"Mr. White has made no tin god of editorial consistency. This collection—any collection—of his editorials will reveal that fact in the first few pages. 'You can't pin the man White down,' is, he says, the verdict of many *Gazette* readers on his apparent mercuric instability. This refusal to assume that a position once taken must be religiously maintained has, however, permitted a sincerity that is a far more wholesome and solid characteristic of his writing. He writes what he thinks. This may mean that the *Gazette*'s editorial position will change almost overnight."

It was only about a year after he bought the Emporia *Gazette* that he wrote his famous editorial "What's the Matter with Kansas." The day it was written his time was limited. He and Mrs. White were to take an afternoon train for Colorado where they expected to spend their vacation. It was in the midst of the feverish McKinley-Bryan campaign. Some Populist stopped him on the street and argued with a sympathetic crowd of other Populists until White's temper became heated and he was in a state of angry excitement when he arrived at his office. The composing room was crying for "copy" to fill a hole in the editorial page. Mr. White rapidly wrote the editorial and left it with others. It represented the heat of the moment and he did not think of it as having any significant importance, but it attracted attention in Chicago and New York papers, and Mark Hanna, chairman of the Republican national committee, distributed copies to a large number of Republican newspapers, and in pamphlet form it was circulated for even more extensive political use. And when Mr. White returned from his vacation he found fame knocking at his door. I would like to insert that famous article, but it is too long.

The situation in 1922 involved specifically the Kansas industrial court, the establishment of which Mr. White and his paper the Emporia *Gazette*, had earlier favored. But its decision outlawing the displaying of placards expressing sympathy with striking railroad workers on the Atchison-Topeka and Santa Fé railroad, Mr. White felt, was a moral wrong. He became the spokesman for the protesting group and he himself violated the order by displaying a placard in his office window, and an editorial appeared in the *Gazette* of July 19, 1922, in which he says: "One of these cards went up in the *Gazette* window today" saying "we are for the striking railroad men one hundred percent. We are for a living wage and fair working conditions." The quotation continued: "Instead of one hundred percent, we have started it at forty-nine percent. If the strike lasts until tomorrow we shall change the percent to fifty, and move it up a little every day."

His close personal and political friend, Gov. Henry J. Allen, following his own lights, ordered Mr. White's arrest and trial as a test case. A few days later, in the rôle of an "American Milton," he addressed to Governor Allen another famous editorial entitled "To an Anxious Friend."

The next year came the announcement that this editorial had won the Pulitzer prize as the best editorial of 1922. "Mr. White's arrest was at best only a Pyrrhic victory for the state administration since in spite of his repeated requests he was never brought to trial. The most significant result of the affair was to rally support more strongly to the strikers' cause."

William Allen White has always been a staunch friend of Emporia, and I haven't any doubt he will be an equally staunch friend of this Society as president.

EDWIN A. AUSTIN.

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Austin's address, Mr. McNeal asked the secretary to introduce three visitors. Mr. Mechem said that this annual meeting, featuring pictures of Kansas and the West, was in a way a celebration of the completion of the card catalogue of the 18,000 photographs, prints and paintings in the Society's collection.

He then introduced Mr. L. Palenske of Alma who for many years has taken notable photographs throughout the West. He commented on Mr. Palenske's recent work in illustrating with modern photographs the new edition of Alonzo Delano's famous book, *Across the Plains and Among the Diggings*.

Mr. Adolph Roenigk of Lincoln was introduced and it was explained that the illustrations for his book, *Pioneer History of Kansas*, were reproductions of oil paintings which were made by the artists under his personal direction. Mr. Roenigk participated in many incidents described in his book.

Miss Margaret Whittemore of Topeka was introduced with the statement that her wood blocks of historic buildings and scenes in Kansas were outstanding among the historical illustrations of the state.

The photographs, illustrations and prints of these three were a part of the collection of the Society's pictures on display in the lobby, Mr. Mechem informed the meeting. He then explained that he had intended to display and comment on a number of the most interesting pictures at this time before it was learned that Dr. Robert Taft, the principal speaker of the afternoon, would be available. Instead, he selected only ten or twelve to display and then introduced Doctor Taft who made a most interesting address on "Artists of the Frontier." This talk was illustrated with lantern slides in colors showing examples of the paintings of the earliest artists of the West.

At the conclusion of this address the report of the committee on nominations for directors was read by Dr. James C. Malin, chairman:

OCTOBER 18, 1937.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations begs leave to submit the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1940:

Austin, E. A., Topeka.
 Berryman, J. W., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
 Council Grove.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, John W., Hugoton.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Haskin, S. B., Olathe.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Kelley, E. E., Garden City.

Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
 McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill, Topeka.
 Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
 Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
 Scott, Charles F., Iola.
 Shirer, H. L., Topeka.
 Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center.
 Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka.
 Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
 Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES C. MALIN, *Chairman*,
 MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
 MRS. HENRY F. MASON,
 THOS. F. DORAN,
 THOS. A. MCNEAL.

On motion of Thomas Amory Lee, seconded by Robert C. Rankin, these directors were unanimously elected for the term ending October, 1940.

The reports of representatives of other societies were called for.

Mrs. Lena Miller Owen, president of the Douglas County Historical Society, read the annual report of that organization.

Mrs. Carl Harder of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society made a report for that society.

Mr. B. M. Ottaway made a verbal report for the Franklin County Historical Society.

Mr. Charles H. Browne of Horton made a brief statement concerning the splendid manner in which historic sites are marked in Montana, and recommended that when work is begun on the proposed marking of historic sites in Kansas by the Historical Society, the Kansas Chamber of Commerce and the State Highway Commission, it would be well to consider Montana's system as a model.

There being no further business the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was then called to order by Mr. McNeal. He asked for a re-reading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The following were unanimously elected:

William Allen White, Emporia, president; J. M. Challiss, Atchison, first vice-president; Robert C. Rankin, Lawrence, second vice-president.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

KIRKE MECHEM, Secretary.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1937

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1938

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Morehouse, Geo. P., Topeka.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Challiss, J. M., Atchison.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.	Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Stewart, Don, Independence.
Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	White, William Allen, Emporia.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1939

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Morrison, T. F., Chanute.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Kagey, Charles L., Wichita.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Kinkel, John M., Topeka.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Horace E., Junction City.	Woodward, Chester, Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

THE ANNUAL MEETING

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DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1940

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Austin, E. A., Topeka. | Lillard, T. M., Topeka. |
| Berryman, J. W., Ashland. | Lindsley, H. K., Wichita. |
| Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council
Grove. | McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill, Topeka. |
| Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence. | Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City. |
| Correll, Charles M., Manhattan. | Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence. |
| Davis, John W., Hugoton. | Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta. |
| Davis, W. W., Lawrence. | Reed, Clyde M., Parsons. |
| Denious, Jess C., Dodge City. | Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro. |
| Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt. | Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center. |
| Frizell, E. E., Larned. | Scott, Charles F., Iola. |
| Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia. | Shirer, H. L., Topeka. |
| Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth. | Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center. |
| Haskin, S. B., Olathe. | Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia. |
| Hegler, Ben F., Wichita. | Wark, George H., Caney. |
| Jones, Horace, Lyons. | Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka. |
| Kelley, E. E., Garden City. | Woolard, Sam F., Wichita. |
| | Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina. |

Bypaths of Kansas History

NEWS FROM THE PLAINS IN 1859

From the *Rocky Mountain News*, Auraria and Denver, December 1, 1859.

We are indebted to Dr. J. W. Lee for some items of interest respecting the late trip of the freight train of A. P. Vasquez & Co., from the Missouri river to this place.

The train left camp near Westport, Mo., on Sunday the second of October, and was fifty days in making the trip, by way of the Arkansas river route and Pike's Peak. Buffalo were very plentiful from Little Corn [Coon?] creek to the Santa Fé crossing of the Arkansas river. They passed the graves of some fourteen persons who had been recently killed by the Kiowa Indians, among the number was one woman. A. S. Jenny, of Kansas City, Mo.—a passenger by the train—unfortunately killed himself by the accidental discharge of his gun in taking his coat out of a wagon, at a point about eighty miles below Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. He was decently interred, and his effects brought through to Auraria, where they were taken charge [of] by A. P. Vasquez and sold at auction—any one properly authorized to receive the proceeds of said sale, can do so upon application to Mr. V.

Dr. Lee and his party saw but few Indians on the route, and had no trouble with them except by their intolerable begging. They saw no Kiowas, and but one Comanche, who they one night surprised in their herd and took him prisoner, and kept him as a hostage for some days.

WOLF HUNTING

From *The Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington, March 20, 1860.

Messrs. Hunt, Peck and Corning, residents of this county, living on Big creek, returned home on Monday, 12th inst., from a hunting expedition out on the plains, having been gone two months. They brought with them *three hundred and forty* wolf pelts, forty dried turkeys, several hundred pounds of "jerked" buffalo meat, and a large number of buffalo tongues. They traveled a distance of about two hundred miles, in a southwesterly direction from Burlington, before they came to the buffalo region, and when there the buffalos were never out of the hunters' sight.

Their mode of hunting wolves was as follows: They would first kill a buffalo, cut a certain quantity of its meat into small pieces, on each of which they would sprinkle strychnine, and then scatter the poisoned bait around the buffalo, within a circuit embracing several rods. A respectable distance from these baits the hunters would pitch their camping tent. In the night the wolves would be attracted to the baits by the scent of the buffalo, and the baits being of the size of a good mouthful for them, they would at once proceed to devote their carnivorous attention to them, and ere they could get to the buffalo, the most of their appetite would be forever appeased.

In the morning they would be found lying dead around the buffalo, by the dozen and score.

These gentlemen have made quite a profitable trip. Wolf pelts are worth from one dollar to two dollars apiece, and "jerked" buffalo meat sells at eight cents a pound. Considering the amount of money their pelts and meat will bring them, together with the fun and pleasure which they experienced on their expedition, and it must be admitted that they passed the last two winter months to good advantage.

It is their intention to go on another wolf hunt next fall.



FORT LARNED IN 1863

The killing of a Cheyenne Indian and a Fourth of July celebration at Fort Larned in 1863 are the principal items reported in this letter by Capt. A. W. Burton of Bourbon county, to his brother, Isaac Burton. The letter was given to the Kansas State Historical Society by Nellie Burton Carr, of Mound City, a daughter of Captain Burton. Mrs. Carr writes (October, 1937) that Isaac Marrs, who figures in the letter, is a resident of Mound City and the sole surviving Civil War veteran in Linn county.

FORT LARNED, KANSAS, 11th July, 1863.

DEAR ISAAC:

Your letter of the 21st June came to hand last mail and I will now try to answer it. You wrote me that Pa and Hettie had written to me before you but I have not recd. their letter, but hope to next mail. We are having a heavy time of it here at present with the Indians though no fight as yet, but I think that it will come before long. We have a great deal more excitement just now caused by the killing of a Cheyenne the other night. A little fellow in our company named Isaac Marrs from Bourbon county was on a beat close to my tent, and I was unwell and was lying awake. About midnight I heard a horseman coming just outside of the breastwork, and I heard Marrs challenge, "who comes there, who comes there, halt, halt, halt." Still the horseman did not stop and the sentinel fired and I heard something fall. He then called for the "Corporal of the guard" and Lieut. Pellett who was officer of the day ran out and asked him what the matter was and he replied that he had killed "some feller" out there. Pellett told him to load his gun and he replied "it is loaded sir." On examination we found him to be a Cheyenne Indian, and he was shot right through head and of course was instantly killed. Marrs is nothing but a little boy not as large as Benton Elliot, but he is all soldier. Colonel Leavenworth sent for all the chiefs and explained the whole matter to them, but the Indians are very much excited and the Cheyennes want the sentinel given up to them but of course we will take good care of the brave little fellow. Since writing the foregoing page I have been out to a council of a delegation of Cheyennes and officers of the garrison and they agree to settle the difficulty if Marrs is given up to them. I do wish that we had a few more troops here so that we need not listen to the monsters, and as it is if I was in command I would let them know that I asked no favors of them. But

let it come to what it may, one hair of Marrs head shall not be touched until they have killed every man in this little garrison. You have no idea of the vast number of Indians there are around this fort. There are no doubt twenty or thirty thousand of them within a few miles of here, and I have seen as many as two thousand of them here at once. We will probably be relieved of duty here before long, and will go south. I shall have an opportunity to come home, and you may be sure that I shall improve it to the full extent. I understand that there is a company of infantry on the way now to relieve us but we can't get off as long as this Indian difficulty continues. I also hear that the 3rd Wis. Cav. is ordered here and if that is so we will leave immediately after its arrival. I recd. a letter from Caroline and Newton a few days ago. They are well. Newt has bought 80 acres of school land and paid \$2,500 for it. Don't you think that is paying for the whistle? I have not heard from Ill. since I wrote you. Lieut. Berthoud of the 2nd Col. has just returned from "America" and gives glowing accounts of the crops in Kansas. By what I hear Kansas will redeem herself this year. Caroline writes that the crops in Ohio are not very good, except the fruit. Have you any peaches this year? I expect to be at home in peach and watermelon time, but then I may be disappointed. I did think that I would try and get my money home some way, but I am afraid it would be lost, and as there is a prospect of my coming in I will wait and bring it with me. If Hettie is strapped tell her to collect that note on Dunlap and spend the money for any thing that she may need. You wrote me that the crops in your parts were good. Did you get your wheat up in good order? Does my tenant work his crop and does the crop look well? I think that the wheat ground in my place will need ploughing early if possible as the fall will probably be very dry and the weeds must be very bad. You spoke as though it was possible that you would put the wheat in, and if you do conclude to I wish you would have a first rate harrow made for me and I will pay for it, as I think that a good harrow is every thing almost in putting in wheat well and easily. About the first thing that I get when I get out of the service will be a Buckeye reaper & mower as I think the wheat crop is a sure thing in Kansas, and wheat straw will do to winter stock on if you can't get anything else. The news from the seat of war I think is not very favorable but we can't tell any thing about what turn things may take, but I do hope that Lee's "raid" into Pennsylvania will work for good to the government rather than evil. The 4th passed off quietly here, without any accident. We raised the garrison flag at noon on a new flag staff, (the first that was ever raised at this post, and for which we had to send thirty-five miles, as this is not what would be called a timbered country) and fired a national salute from the battery. We also in our enthusiasm gave a few cheers for the old "Gridiron" and Col. Leavenworth made a few patriotic remarks of the Star Spangled banner order to the battalion. I then in my official capacity, as post adjutant "dismissed the parade" (that, and to wear good clothes was all that I had to do). The boys then amused themselves by running three or four hundred horse races and drinking a "few pints" of that seductive fluid denominated rot, interspersed with an occasional foot race which was highly gratifying to them, and they declared that they had as good a time as they could have had, had they been in "America."

Well Ike I have written too much already and must stop. Excuse all nonsense if you have to excuse the whole thing. Write as often as you can afford to reply to my miserable epistle, and believe me to be

Your affectionate Bro A. W. BURTON.

ARBOR DAY IN TOPEKA IN 1875

Tree planting was the hobby of J. Sterling Morton, pioneer Nebraskan. To encourage the same practice on the part of others he urged that one day each year, to be known as Arbor Day, should be especially dedicated to that purpose. Starting in 1872 on a day officially set aside by Nebraska the idea spread, and in 1875 it seems to have struck Topeka and the statehouse square leaving a young forest. The ceremonies which were held on April 23, 1875, were described in *The Commonwealth*, of April 24.

The tract of upland prairie in which the capitol building of Kansas stands, has been from the start a very aggravating and expensive rectangle to the state and to this city.

It was originally surrounded by a stone wall of the ordinary farm pattern, but this proved a frail protection, and unsightly gaps became visible in it, so that the wall, never ornamental, soon ceased to be even useful. Under Mr. Asa Hairgrove's administration when state auditor, an appropriation of \$1,000 was made for the benefit of the grounds, and a large number of locust trees were set out, but the whole locust outfit went into involuntary bankruptcy, and a portion of subsequent appropriations was used in grubbing up the stumps of Hairgrove's enterprise. Small appropriations were made from time to time, aggregating, it is said, \$5,000, and went like soap suds when poured into a rat hole, and still the statehouse grounds were not happy. In 1872, W. H. Fitzpatrick, senator from this county, worked like a horse and secured an appropriation of \$5,000 for the grounds. Then it was believed that the grounds were to be improved to a dead certainty. A Chicago landscapist drew an elegant looking plan, the old wall was taken away and the present board fence substituted, and there was shoveling and scraping and plowing done till you couldn't rest, and trees were set out on the outside of the square, paths were laid out and paved with coal cinders, and evergreens were scattered about the grounds on the interior. But after all this the improvement came to naught. The evergreens died; so did a good many of the elms outside. Weeds grew in the paths, and the town cows again returned to their old pasture, and the square seemed as neglected and desolate as it did when Hairgrove first struck it.

The failure of this last appropriation to make the square "a thing of beauty and a joy forever," "salivated" the legislature. That body provided for the erection of a new portico in place of the old wooden "cattle shoot," but members sneered bitterly and said something about "frod" when the subject of the grounds was mentioned.

But there is a tide in the affairs of capitol grounds which, taken at the flood, leads on to tree-planting. A few weeks ago some newspaper "chaffing" brought

out Secretary of State Cavanaugh, who expressed his willingness to do all in his power to effect the improvement of the grounds, and then Mayor Anderson, with how much deliberation we are unable to state, "evolved from his inner consciousness" an idea of an "Arbor Day," for the benefit of the state's wilderness, a proclamation was issued and the labors of yesterday were the result.

On Wednesday and Thursday last Cavanaugh had stakes driven twenty feet apart along the walks, and at other points indicated for trees in the plan of the grounds made by the landscapist, as hereinbefore mentioned, to indicate where the trees should be set out.

Early yesterday morning, nursery men had their trees "heeled in" at different parts of the grounds, and long before 2 p. m., the hour set for the tree planting to begin, many trees were in position.

The "trouble" began at between 2 and 3. The *Commonwealth* outfit, about twenty strong, headed by the colored band, with Prouty forming the principal portion of the leading "file," marched from the office to the ground, each man carrying an elm or two on his shoulder. On the arrival of the procession the trees, twenty-seven in number, were set out in "Newspaper Row," along the east fence, beginning about fifty feet north of the walk leading to the portico.

At this time, and during the remainder of the afternoon, the grounds presented a lively, and, indeed, brilliant appearance. Groups of men, women and children were scattered over the grounds, the steps of the capitol were crowded with lookers-on, and some of the more adventurous climbed to the roof of the capitol. Trees rose more rapidly than they have since "Birnam Wood" called on Mr. Macbeth. The fire boys were out with their machine to furnish water, and two brass bands furnished wind, worked up into lively melodies. Stylish carriages filled with ladies moved slowly about, and altogether we do not believe another scene of so much life and gayety has been witnessed since the first grasshopper of 1874 crossed the state line.

It would have been a good idea to have provided a record book for the preservation of the names of the tree planters. We can only mention a few of them.

All the departments of the state government set out trees. Governor Osborn planted an elm, near the walk leading to the main entrance. Judge Kingman set a group of fine trees. The secretary of state's office set out nine trees, one for Mr. Cavanaugh and one for each of his assistants, while the tree in the centre is intended to keep green the memory of Capt. William H. Smallwood.

The fire department set out eighteen trees.

Mr. John C. Searle, father of our city clerk, Mr. R. H. C. Searle, a gentleman over eighty years of age, set out a tree with his own hands, and one tree bore the name of Mrs. Giles, who is eighty-five years old.

Colonel Huntoon set out seven trees, one for each member of his family, arranged in the form of the letter H.

The Topeka *Times* people and other First Warders, concentrated their efforts in the transplantation of a very large and handsome mulberry.

Poppendick, Gus. Hauschild, Zimmerman, Pape, Oswald, Miller and other Germans, selected a spot on the path leading to the northwest gate, calling it, as Pape informed our reporter, the "Dutch quarter." These trees were set out with a great deal of care, Mrs. Zimmerman working faithfully with others in the cause.

Various foreign "potentates and powers" were represented in the trees set out. Judge C. G. Foster, of the United States district court, set out two trees. Byron Sherry planted one for Leavenworth county, Mr. Bradford wielded the spade for Osage county, Job Throckmorton and P. B. Maxson for Lyon, C. H. Titus for Morris, Mr. March for Cherokee, Lew J. Best for Mitchell, Mr. Morrison for Smith, E. C. Manning for Cowley, and Messrs. Riley and Hutchings planted for Neosho county.

Charley La Tourette states that himself and "mob" set out fifteen trees.

The Topeka *Blade* set out several trees.

The absent were remembered. A fine ash was set out for Capt. James W. Steele, United States consul at Matanzas.

Mr. P. J. Tormey, of Boston, set out two trees and appointed W. P. Douthitt his attorney to see that they were kept growing.

Among the varieties of trees set out were elm, maple, hickory (two varieties), cherry, Siberian crab apple, silver birch, red bud, mulberry, honey locust, mountain ash, cedar, box-elder, coffee bean, willow, Osage orange, cottonwood and honey locust.

The whole number of trees planted is not yet known. Late in the afternoon but before the work was completed, six hundred and thirty-five trees had been put in the ground; at least seven hundred were planted.

A great many interesting facts could be given, but we forbear, and close with the wish expressed on a card attached to a printer's tree in "Newspaper Row."

O gryllus, spare this tree,
Bite not a single bough,
In youth I plant it here—
May God protect it now!

THE DEATH OF "WILD BILL" HICKOK

From the Hays City *Sentinel*, August 16, 1876.

"Fort Laramie, August 10.—James B. Hickok, otherwise known as Wild Bill, a scout of considerable renown in the West, was shot and instantly killed, at Deadwood, on the 2d of August. The murderer's name is Bill Sutherland. Hickok was playing cards in a saloon when Sutherland came up behind and fired, the ball entering just behind the right ear, and passing clear through the head, perforating the brain. The assassin attempted to escape, but was finally captured. He says in justification of his deed, that Wild Bill killed his brother, at Fort Hays, Kansas, some years ago. Others, who claim to know the antecedents of both parties, say the story is false, and that the real cause of the murder is found in the fact that Hickok outgambled Sutherland during the previous week. When I left Deadwood the trial was in progress at the theater, with a strong probability of the acquittal of Sutherland. Bill's friends, however, say that the assassin shall not leave town alive. The murdered man was taken charge of, and his funeral expenses paid by Charley Utter, known here as Colorado Charley. There is much excitement in Deadwood and Custer over the affair, as Bill was generally liked and his superb personal courage admired."

So Wild Bill is dead at last. It is a wonder he has lasted as long as he has. Bill has killed many a man; and each death made him enemies, who but lacked

the opportunity to kill him. Many a man has bit the dust when "hunting Bill," and many a man who has avowedly attempted to kill him, now lies with his toes upward. The tribute to his bravery is not exaggerated. James B. Hickok was a cool, collected man; not a rough nor a desperado, but a brave man. His courage was never questioned. If the occasion required it, he would face a mob of roughs, and, with that cool, self-possessed air so characteristic of him.

During his residence in Hays, Hickok was one of the best citizens of the town. He never commenced a muss; but he was always in at the close, and, as a general thing there was a procession up to "Boot Hill" on the same day. Bill always used to attend his funerals, and took a great pride in conducting them properly. Like Buck Fanshaw, Wild Bill was a great disciple of peace, and he frequently killed a man or two to preserve it. He was sheriff of this county [city marshal at Hays] for a long time; and his shrievalty was one of peace, as compared to that of his predecessors. Physically, he was a perfect man, tall and commanding; and the surprising celerity with which he could draw one of his "Colts" was a great peace promoter. Every old timer is chuck full of reminiscences of Bill, and at some future time we will reproduce some of them.

All concede that he was a kindhearted, gentle-mannered gentleman, and only when aroused was he dangerous. Many of his old friends now reside in Hays, and all express great sorrow at his untimely end. The story that Bill killed a brother of his murderer is disputed by people here who know the circumstances. John Hobbs says that Sutherland never had a brother in Hays. Sutherland himself is well known in Hays; and no such affair occurred. The man whom the above article has reference to was named Sam Strawhorn [or Strawhan], and not Sutherland. He was killed by Bill in the spring of '70, down in Oderfeld's saloon, on Fort street. Strawhorn and Bill had some trouble over a game of cards the previous evening, and Strawhorn threatened to kill Bill the next day. Bill heard of it, hunted up Strawhorn, and shot him. This was the general wind up of such affairs. In those days a man didn't say a thing unless he meant it; and after the thing was said, it was only a question of time as to who would be the chief mourner.

A PROPOSAL TO ANNEX KANSAS CITY, Mo., TO KANSAS

From the Kansas City *Times*, Kansas City, Mo., December 14, 1878.

The only obstacle to the material progress of Kansas City is the state line. The *Times* has long recognized this fact, although it has not heretofore made it the subject of serious public discussion. Now, however, that the legislatures both of Missouri and Kansas are about to assemble, we feel impelled to suggest such concurrent legislation by the two commonwealths as shall make Kansas City in fact, as well as in name, *the City of Kansas*.

It is a proposition which we are satisfied will be hailed with universal approbation in Kansas as well as Kansas City, and one which ought not to encounter any serious opposition from any portion of Jackson county, or indeed the state of Missouri. The annual revenue which Kansas City pays to the

state treasury according to the auditor's last report, is about \$67,000, and the redisbursement by the state to Jackson county amounts to \$15,000 yearly, a difference of about \$52,000 in favor of the state government, which would be the strongest argument that could be used against the cession of Kansas City to the state of Kansas. As to the territory required, let us suppose that the line of the Big Blue is made the new boundary, and the townships of Kaw, Westport and a section of Washington are comprised in the territory to be taken. We have thus a triangular shaped strip of twenty miles in extreme length by an average of two and a half miles in width, and comprising about sixty square miles, a territorial loss to Missouri that would be inappreciable, even to Jackson county.

That the state of Kansas would welcome the acquisition, we have the assurance of leading and influential men in all sections. The legislature of Kansas could do no wiser act than to effect a virtual purchase from the state of Missouri, by assuming to pay the existing state revenues of Kansas City into the treasury of Missouri for fifty years to come, or say a quarter million of dollars. It is not a question of politics, but of statesmanship. The argument in favor of annexation is incontestable. The trade of the state of Kansas is the life-blood of Kansas City. Cut off from us the patronage that comes from our sister state, and our city would relapse into insignificance. Indeed, the entire state of Kansas pays us tribute and fills our coffers. We see the faces of her people daily in our streets, in our stores, in all our marts of trade. Their names are on our ledgers. They read our newspapers. They think our thoughts. They are essentially a part of the same community, for we are practically one people. Who shall say that we have not closer commercial ties and stronger sympathies with the people of Kansas than of Missouri?

Kansas City, Mo., should therefore be not only set over into the state of Kansas, but Wyandotte and Kansas City, Kansas, should be incorporated with Kansas City under one municipal government. This would make community of interest and obliterate state prejudices. It would relieve a great commercial and political exigency by making it a Kansas City actually as well as nominally. It would increase our population tens of thousands yearly from the state of Kansas. It would give the people of that state an interest in our own municipal affairs that would develop itself in legislation to foster and promote its commercial and industrial advantages. It would make Kansas City the commercial, financial and social capital of Kansas, holding her people's loyalty and interest in firm allegiance and vital relationship to Kansas City, which would be in itself a miniature commonwealth.

An enabling act by congress, with concurrent acts by the legislatures of the states of Missouri and Kansas, would accomplish this purpose, and we trust the subject will claim the first attention of our local representatives at Jefferson City during the coming session. We are confident the legislature of Kansas would, upon invitation from Missouri, appoint a committee of conference to discuss the practicability and expediency of the project.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A history of the Enterprise postoffice, established in 1873, was briefly outlined in the *Enterprise Journal*, March 12, 1936.

Two historical sketches of the Dickinson Community High School, of Chapman, as written by Mrs. Vivian Aten Long and by Iris McDonald, were printed in the *Chapman Advertiser*, April 2, and June 4, 1936. The school is "the first county high school in the United States." A résumé of Chapman's early history by Katherine Meyer appeared in the July 2 issue.

A history of the Bank of Herington, organized in 1886, was recorded in the *Herington Times-Sun*, November 12, 1936.

Sedgwick school history was sketched in the *Sedgwick Pantagraph*, January 14, 1937.

La Crosse's Review Club celebrated the fortieth anniversary of its organization, December 31, 1936. The club's history was reviewed in the *La Crosse Chieftain*, January 14, 1937. La Crosse in 1886 was described by Harry S. Fish, writing in the February 18 issue.

The reminiscences of Joe W. Hutt, Sr., early-day western Kansas buffalo hunter, were recorded in the *Cawker City Ledger* in a letter published in the issue of January 21, 1937.

Vermillion history was reviewed by Dr. C. W. Robinson in an article entitled "Local Color in Pioneer Days," appearing in the *Vermillion Times*, January 21, 28, and February 4, 1937.

Charter members of the Waldo Methodist Church were named in the *Waldo Advocate*, January 25, 1937. The charter was issued on October 11, 1887.

The history of Askren School District No. 2 and community, of Woodson county, was recounted by Lester Harding in *The Woodson County Post*, of Yates Center, in issues from January 28 to May 6, 1937.

Mr. and Mrs. George Yoxall's reminiscences of the Medicine creek settlement, Rooks county, were recorded by W. F. Hughes in his "Facts and Comments" column in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, January 28, 1937. Notes of the county's early history made up the columns for the issues of November 11 and 18.

A history of School District No. 31, Osborne county, was sketched by Lee De Moss in the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, February 4, 1937. The first school in the district began on June 16, 1873, with a three-month summer term.

Buffalo history was briefly reviewed by Ida Wallace, who settled there in 1869, in the *Buffalo Blade*, February 5, 1937.

A history of early Grand Center was outlined by H. P. Tripp in his column, "Memories of Early Days," in the *Waldo Advocate*, February 8 and September 13, 1937.

The early-day experiences of Mr. and Mrs. Sip Kuiken in the Downs vicinity were related by Mrs. Maude Ewing, writing in the *Downs News*, February 11, 1937. Biographical notes on couples in the Downs area who have celebrated their golden wedding anniversaries were written by Mrs. Ewing for the *News* of February 18 and 25.

Brief histories of the Smoky Hill Teachers' Association, organized in 1882, and the Golden Belt Educational Association, started in 1893, were printed in A. S. Peacock's "Dictagrams" column in the *Western Kansas World*, of Wakeeney, March 4, 1937.

The Russell Methodist Episcopal Church celebrated the sixty-fifth anniversary of its founding in March, 1937. A history of the church by Fred J. Smith was printed in the *Russell Record* and *The Russell County News* in their issues of March 11. Additional historical notes were contributed by E. W. Voorhis to the *Record* of April 22.

"Ravanna as It Was in Its Prime," was the title of an illustrated article appearing in *The Jacksonian*, of Cimarron, March 18, 1937.

La Crosse newspaper history was reviewed in articles appearing in the *La Crosse Chieftain*, April 15 and 22, 1937.

"Bison's Destructive Tornado Just Twenty-Five Years Ago," was the title of an illustrated article in the *La Crosse Republican*, April 22, 1937.

The Zion Lutheran Church of Linn observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding at services held May 2, 1937. Notes on the organization's history were printed in the *Linn-Palmer Record*, April 30 and May 7.

Durham history as recounted in an article in the *Durham Dope* was republished in the *Marion Record*, May 27, 1937. The town was originally known as Moore's ranch.

Sketches of early Wallace county history were contributed by George M. DeTilla to *The Western Times*, of Sharon Springs, in a letter printed May 27, 1937.

Dell Dreher reviewed the history of School District No. 11, Luray, in the *Luray Herald*, May 27, 1937. The first school building, constructed in 1875 of native stone, still stands.

Illustrated biographical sketches of prominent residents of Solomon and vicinity were contributed by Margaret Wolfe to *The Solomon Valley Tribune* in issues dated from June to September, 1937. Other historical articles worthy of mention include: "History of School District 34 From Time of Its Organization," by Elizabeth Grimm Buchenau, appearing July 8, and "How Solomon School Was Started," printed August 26. Celebrating the forty-first anniversary of the founding of the *Tribune*, a twenty-eight page edition was issued on December 9, featuring "Harriet Woolley's History of Solomon," and considerable other historical matter relating to Solomon and its citizens.

Early Monument (Ennis City) history was reviewed in the *Colby Free Press-Tribune*, June 9, 1937. A tower, started in the 1880's as a memorial to Gen. John A. Logan, was never finished.

St. Paul's Lutheran Church, of Valley Falls, celebrated the eightieth anniversary of its founding June 20, 1937. Its history was sketched in the *Valley Falls Vindicator*, June 9 and 16. The Rev. J. B. McAfee organized the congregation.

Early Blue Stem district and Lucas in 1887 were recalled by Viola Hack Watson in a letter in the *Lucas Independent*, June 10, 1937.

Linn county's early newspapers were discussed by Mrs. Eva Babb in the *Pleasanton Observer-Enterprise*, June 10, 1937. The *Linn County Herald*, founded on April 1, 1859, and published at Mound City by Jonathan Lyman, was the first paper in the county.

Early days in Bull City (now Alton) were reviewed by Frank Perry Austin, of Denver, Colo., in a letter printed in the *Osborne Empire-Journal*, June 10, 1937. The reminiscences of Mrs. S. A. Norris, who settled in Osborne county in 1879, were recorded in the *Empire-Journal*, July 1.

Brief biographical sketches of Smith county residents of the Highland community were written by A. F. Walker in his "An Authentic History of the Highland Community" printed in the *Smith County Pioneer*, of Smith Center, June 24, 1937.

Notes on the history of the Ness City Methodist Church, which observed the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the church building with services held June 25, 26, and 27, 1937, were published in *The Ness County News*, July 1.

An excerpt from the diary of Arthur Williams, who crossed present Kansas in 1852, was printed in *The Suburban News*, of Merriam, July 1, 1937. Mr. Williams was one of the scouts who rode over the Santa Fé trail, the article reported.

Ness City in 1887 was described by W. E. Ruff in a column article in *The Ness County News*, Ness City, June 17, 1937.

Gopher (present Winona) and vicinity in 1884, as recalled by the late Bert Lowe, was recorded in an article in the *Logan County News*, of Winona, July 1, 1937.

Biographical sketches of Phillips county pioneers have appeared from time to time since July 1, 1937, in *The Phillips County Review*, of Phillipsburg.

A two-column history of the Bank of Palmer, organized on July 4, 1887, was printed in the *Linn-Palmer Record*, July 2, 1937.

The ceremonies twenty years ago attending the unveiling of a statue to Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson, for whom McPherson city and county were named, were described in a three-column article in the *McPherson Daily Republican*, July 5, 1937. The monument is in McPherson's Central Park.

A school history of southwestern Limestone township, Jewell county, was recounted by Mrs. T. C. Bossen, of Salina, in a letter to *The Western Advocate*, Mankato, printed in the issue of July 8, 1937.

Introduction of the combined harvester and thresher to central Kansas was discussed in articles in the Larned *Chronoscope*, July 8, 1937, and the Great Bend *Tribune*, July 26. The first to operate within the two counties was started near Great Bend July 4, 1901.

A history of the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, of Gove City, was briefly sketched by A. K. Trimmer, editor since its start in 1889 at Quinter, in the *Republican-Gazette* of July 15, 1937.

The history of Triumph school, Greenwood county, 1872-1937, was recounted in the *Toronto Republican*, July 15, 1937.

Utica's pioneers registering at the city's golden jubilee celebration, held July 19-21, 1937, were listed, with the dates of their arrival, in the *Utica Star-Courier*, July 22.

H. P. Tripp reviewed the history of School District No. 67 (Grand Center school), of Osborne county, in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, July 29, 1937. The district was organized in the spring of 1878.

Kansas Historical Notes

Frank Washburn is the new president of the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association, elected at the annual meeting in Topeka, December 4, 1937. Other officers are: Theodore F. Rickenbacher, vice-president, and Maude B. Snyder, secretary-treasurer. Robert Stone and O. K. Swayze were the principal speakers. John McNown, of Topeka, won honors as the earliest settler of Shawnee county to attend the meeting. He has been a resident since 1855.

The Horton-Kennekuk Historical Society was organized in Horton, December 17, 1937, at a meeting called by W. R. Honnell and others to discuss plans for a "memorial park at Kennekuk and a suitable site for a marker on U. S. Highway 159, just south of Horton, designating where the Old Military road, the Pony Express and overland freight and stage trails pursued their way to the Far West." To defray the expenses of the memorials the organization hopes to sell Pony Express pocket pieces for fifty cents each. Each person buying one automatically becomes a member. Temporary officers of the society are: James Claunch, president; Jules A. Bourquin, vice-president; F. J. Henney, secretary-treasurer, and Charles H. Browne, historian.

At the organization meeting of the Augusta Historical Society held on January 7, 1938, the following officers were elected: W. W. Cron, president; Mrs. A. N. Taylor, vice-president; Stella B. Haines, secretary, and Roy A. Cox, treasurer. As one of its first objects the society plans to establish a historical room in one of the Augusta school buildings "to be maintained by school children for school children."

W. W. Graves' *History of the Kickapoo Mission and Parish, the First Catholic Church in Kansas*, was issued this year as No. 7 of the Graves Historical Series. The 151-page book, published by *The Journal Press*, of St. Paul, represents the work of three writers: Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of Loyola University, Chicago, who wrote the history of the old mission; Father George Towle, present pastor at Kickapoo, who contributed a history of the re-organized Kickapoo church, and W. W. Graves who compiled biographies of the missionaries serving the Kickapoo Indians at the old mission. In the foreword Mr. Graves stated: "The Kickapoo Catholic mission established in 1836 marked the real beginning of resi-

dential Catholic missionary work in Kansas, all previous efforts in this line having been transient, by traveling missionaries."

The Lyon County Historical Society completed its organization at the first annual meeting held in Emporia, January 29, 1938. As provided by the constitution adopted at the meeting, the society elected a board of fifteen directors—one each from the eleven townships in the county and Emporia's four wards. They are: One-year terms—Mrs. R. D. Carpenter, Elmendaro township; Park L. Morse, Emporia township; Catherine H. Jones, second ward; Tom Price, Reading township, and William L. Huggins, first ward. Two-year terms—J. J. Wingfield, Agnes City township; L. H. Ames, Americus township; Ben Talbot, Pike township; William Allen White, fourth ward, and Mrs. William Sheets, Waterloo township. Three-year terms—Clarence Paine, Ivy township; Mrs. Robert Lumley, Fremont township; Mrs. J. C. McKinney, Jackson township; Richard Langley, Center township, and Mrs. Alice Evans Snyder, third ward. Other officers, whose names were also announced previously on these pages, are: William L. Huggins, president; Harry A. Wayman, vice-president; E. C. Ryan, secretary, and John Langley, treasurer. The society has 303 charter members.

Kansas facts and statistics—396 pages of them—are reviewed in the *Kansas Year Book, 1937-1938*, edited by Harold C. Place and published by the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce this month. The publication represents months of time spent by its staff on research, and collects under one cover the story of Kansas in brief, facts about all departments of the Kansas state government and considerable information concerning federal, county and city governments. The population, assessed valuation, tax rate and indebtedness of every tax unit in the state and agricultural resources are part of the one hundred statistical tables. The painstakingly-compiled volume, bound in brown cloth, is attractively arranged, profusely illustrated, and handsomely printed, selling for two dollars a copy. It will make a handy reference book, succeeding and surpassing the old *Kansas Facts* last issued in 1933.

Pioneer meetings or old-settler reunions are sponsored annually by citizens of many Kansas cities and towns. Most newspapers publish historical data contemporaneous with the gatherings in their individual localities. Following is an incomplete list of these communities and dates of the meetings: Leavenworth "Pioneer Days," May 21-23, 1937; Pawnee Rock, May 25; Alton, Wabaunsee, May

30; Hazelton, June 4; Wichita, June 5; Protection, July 3-5; Barclay, July 5; Scott City, July 5-7; Garden Plain (held at Wichita), July 18; Utica, July 19-21; Eureka, July 27; Downs, July 28; Baldwin "Santa Fé trail picnic," July 29; Jewell, August 3, 4; St. Paul, August 9-14; Gypsum, Halstead, August 11, 12; Fairview, Nickerson, August 12, 13; Barnes, Lebanon, Potter, August 12-14; Greenbush, St. Marys, August 15; Humboldt, August 16-21; Hanover "Days of '49," August 17-19; Deerfield, Holton, August 19; Clifton, August 19-21; Oskaloosa, August 20, 21; Columbus, August 23-28; Nortonville, August 24-26; Goodland, August 24-27; Vermillion, August 25, 26; Lovewell, Mulvane, August 26; Larned, August 26, 27; Osage City, Sparks, August 26-28; Cottonwood Falls, Kiowa county (held at Mac-L park), August 27; Winchester, August, 27, 28; Lenora, August 27-29; Erie, August 30-September 4; Thayer, September 1-3; Pratt, Tonganoxie, September 2; Olathe, September 3, 4; Excelsior schoolhouse (near Mound Valley), Meade, September 5; Gaylord, Yates Center, September 6; Oakley, September 15; Marion, September 16; Howard, September 17; Smith Center, September 23; Weir, September 25, 26; Potwin, September 30; Kirwin, October 5; Turon, October 7; Arkansas City, October 30, and Greensburg, November 2.

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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

Some Problems and Prospects in Kansas Prehistory

WALDO R. WEDEL

DURING the past five or six years large portions of the eighty-odd thousand square miles included in the present political bounds of Kansas have attracted considerable attention as a result of their widely publicized droughts and recurrent dust storms. The immediate reactions to these whims of nature have been varied and interesting, if sometimes tragic. To the farmer and those directly or indirectly dependent upon his welfare they have spelled dire economic stress and often disaster. The politician, unless he has a direct stake in the area, foresees the distant day when the "dust bowl" will have become a desert of shifting sands, and so he urges abandonment of the very acres which in World War years poured a golden flood into the farmers' granaries. The student of climatology, more conservative and better informed, reminds us that Kansas, or at least its western part, is a borderland between arid and humid zones, and as such will probably always be liable to recurring fluctuations in rainfall. Instead of wholesale abandonment, he suggests development of a sane long-range plan of land utilization to replace the present haphazard methods.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the present habitability of the Great Plains, much less to suggest a cure for the farmer's economic ailments, but rather to call attention to certain possibilities which may lie in local studies of prehistoric man. Few persons today are aware that long before white explorers had reached this region and named it the "Great American Desert," it was already being exploited in different ways by various native tribes and peoples. Though still in its infancy in Kansas, archeological research has enabled us to partially draw aside the veil covering the past, so that we may catch fleeting glimpses of the ways by which these early Kansans adapted themselves to the conditions of their environment. Time alone will show whether or not such inquiries into the past can provide a practical lesson for the future.

Geographically, Kansas lies almost wholly within the Great Plains. About a third of the state, roughly that portion west of the 100th meridian, belongs to the High Plains, and so is characterized by extensive areas of phenomenal flatness, short sparse grass, and little

water. Inhospitable as much of this seems today, from the viewpoint of aboriginal habitation it must be remembered that the grasslands which were destroyed by the plow within the past fifty or seventy-five years were once preëminently the habitat of the bison. On their eastern front, especially north of the Arkansas river, the High Plains have been extensively dissected by stream erosion, producing a broken north-south belt of high plateaus and prominent eastward-facing escarpments cut through by river valleys. The term Plains Border has been applied to this area, which during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries furnished hunting grounds for such tribes as the Pawnee and Kansa. East of the 97th meridian, roughly, and south of the Kansas river, are the undulating and fertile Osage Plains, formerly a true tall grass prairie region. These Plains give way north of the Kansas river and east of the Republican to a rough glaciated area cut into ridges and valleys by innumerable creeks. The northern half of the state drains eastward through the Kansas-Smoky Hill system into the Missouri at Kansas City, while in the south drainage is via the Arkansas and Neosho southeastward across Oklahoma and Arkansas into the Mississippi.

From east to west Kansas extends slightly over 400 miles. Along its eastern border, where the annual precipitation averages around thirty-five inches, the plant and animal associations show many eastern forms. True forests exist nowhere unless perhaps formerly in the immediate valley of the Missouri, but along nearly every watercourse of any consequence in the eastern half may be found fine stands of oak, walnut, elm, and ash, while cottonwood and willow fringed many of the western streams as well. Prior to modern agricultural development, upland areas throughout the state were universally dominated by grasses. The long, narrow, winding ribbons of hardwood forest, interfingering with the broader interfluvial grasslands, brought many eastern species of mammals and birds well into the Kansas plains. The twenty-inch isohyet, sometimes regarded as the limit for successful modern farming, corresponds roughly to the 100th meridian and the approximate eastern edge of the High Plains, although its location shifts considerably from time to time. Along the Colorado border precipitation averages under fifteen inches per year, and there is a corresponding sparseness of such requisites for aboriginal occupancy as game (bison excepted) and timber.

As almost everywhere throughout the Great Plains, stream valleys in Kansas were of prime importance to aboriginal man. To the

present-day farmer with his mechanical appliances and large-scale methods the uplands are readily available and even desirable, so long as nature provides sufficient rainfall in proper season. But to the Indian, armed only with a bone hoe and a planting stick, the tough prairie sod was a well nigh insurmountable obstacle, and so he largely confined his gardening to patches of loose, mellow ground in the valley bottoms. Here, too, he could find abundance of potable water, of wood for fuel, building, and tool-making, and all of the other fundamental requisites for carrying on his domestic activities. In the timbered valleys were numerous game animals such as deer, bear, wolf, fox, wildcat, beaver, otter and others, all the more easily procured because cover was limited in extent. In every direction from the valleys were grasslands where bison, antelope, and elk could be taken. All in all, the environmental conditions throughout most of the state were such that a reasonably comfortable livelihood could be won with a moderate outlay of time and effort.

The varied nature of the area, topographically and otherwise, was in fact conducive to several different habits of life. The fertile valleys offered every inducement to horticulturally minded peoples, to whom a sessile mode of living would be most practicable. On the other hand, the broad prairies with their teeming herds of game must have been a perpetual temptation to groups less closely bound to the soil. Within the past century or two such highly mobile and warlike tribes as the Comanche, who lived in skin "tipis" and spent many of their waking hours in the saddle, illustrate the extreme degree to which tribes could be divorced from the routine of a strictly horticultural existence. There is evidence that in earlier times, even before the white man introduced the horse, considerable portions of the native population may already have been dependent on the products of the chase rather than on the cultivation of maize and beans. For those tribes which chose to combine in about equal proportions hunting and horticulture a still different orientation of society and interests might and often did result. The Pawnee in historic times admirably illustrate this hybrid habit, a compromise so to speak between two widely divergent basic economies. For Kansas our knowledge of the early horticulturists is at present more extensive than for the hunters, hence we shall be more directly concerned with their remains hereafter.

So far as topography is concerned, no part of Kansas can be said to have offered serious hindrances to the free movement of aboriginal man. Certain portions of the High Plains in the western-most

part appear not to have been very generally traveled, but this was due mainly to lack of water. Largely for this reason perhaps Puebloan influences in Kansas appear to have been very slight, at least prior to about the time of the Pueblo revolt in 1680. Elsewhere, movements from one river or creek valley to another entailed no hardships, and intercourse between contemporaneous peoples with a resulting exchange of cultural traits and ideas, was doubtless frequent and extensive. At the same time we may point out that the principal rivers flow toward the east and southeast in broad, flat-floored valleys of comparatively easy gradient, and through their numerous lesser tributaries they reach virtually every section of Kansas. They provide easy avenues for travel by foot and to some extent by water, and hence suggest logical routes for populational or cultural movements into the Plains. To prehistoric man, unacquainted with the horse, they must have had a strong appeal for just this reason. Since, moreover, the two principal river systems flow out of Kansas in divergent directions any possible upstream influences would in all probability derive from markedly dissimilar centers of culture development. To primitive peoples ascending the Missouri from its junction with the Mississippi at St. Louis, the valley of the Kansas offers a pleasant alternative route westward where the larger Missouri valley swings sharply toward the north. Once in the Kansas valley there would be nothing, barring preoccupation by a more powerful group, to hinder a general westward movement so long as the environment remained congenial or hostile pressure from the rear of sufficient intensity. Again, as is well known to archeologists, the lower Arkansas-Red river area is exceedingly rich in prehistoric remains and appears to have been the seat of one or more well advanced native civilizations. A high point of aboriginal achievement in this region, if not indeed its peak, is exhibited in such spectacular manifestations as the well-known Spiro mound group on the Arkansas river in eastern Oklahoma. It seems reasonable to expect that any ethnic movements or cultural waves emanating from that general area might have had recognizable repercussions in the upper Arkansas-Neosho-Verdigris basin in southern Kansas. As a matter of fact, the work of certain local enthusiasts in east central Kansas, notably near Salina, has already revealed traces of such southern influences in pottery, effigy clay pipes, and perhaps in certain bone artifacts. The relative importance of these impulses remains undetermined, but it is no longer in the realm of conjecture to suggest that along broad lines stream

valleys probably played an important rôle in determining the course of prehistory in Kansas.

Perhaps no state in the midwest is so little known ethnologically and archeologically as Kansas. From historical documents we know that the Kansa tribe claimed northeastern Kansas, while their linguistic kindred, the Osage, ranged over the region now known as the Osage Plains. On the Arkansas river in central Kansas stood the grass houses of the Caddoan-speaking Wichita, and far to the north, where the Republican enters the state, there was at least one village of earth lodges belonging to their relatives, the Pawnee. Additional sites belonging to this typically Nebraska tribe may well be present, but if so, their location and characteristics remain unrecorded. The High Plains in western Kansas were a sort of "no man's land," where wandering Cheyenne and Arapaho disputed with Comanche, Kiowa, and Sioux the right to hunt bison. Most of these tribes had already passed from the Kansas scene when trained ethnologists began their studies. Such peoples as the Delaware, Wyandot, Kickapoo, Pottawatomie, and Shawnee were late comers from the east, after about 1830, and owed their sojourn in the state entirely to the white man's heavy hand.

As for archeology, if we omit casual references to a few sites by early-day geologists, interested but untrained laymen, and others, the noteworthy descriptive papers dealing with the area can be counted on the fingers of one's two hands. As early as 1830 the Rev. Isaac McCoy briefly described mound explorations near Fort Leavenworth. A half century later, from 1881-1890, Udden investigated a large protohistoric village site near Lindsborg. At about the same time Brower was endeavoring to re-locate Coronado's provinces of Quivira and Harahey in the lower Kansas valley, and shortly thereafter Williston and Martin excavated a historic but undated Pueblo ruin in Scott county. Since the turn of the century limited investigations have been made by Sterns, Fowke, and Zimmerman in northeastern Kansas, by Moorehead in the Arkansas valley, and by the Nebraska Historical Society along the Solomon and Smoky Hill rivers. In more recent years a few enthusiastic collectors have called to the attention of professional archeologists certain noteworthy discoveries made here and there. Meager as the published reports are they nevertheless indicate a rather surprising number of different cultures in the state. Yet in spite of the obvious abundance of sites and the apparent variety of types, no general systematic attack has been made on the broader problems of the region nor

has there been any attempt to place the state in its proper position with respect to Plains prehistory on the one hand, and to the Mississippi valley cultures on the other.

Obviously, in a region as extensive and as little known archeologically as Kansas, a vast amount of work remains to be done before we can hope to piece together the human story in detail. There are 105 counties in the state and it is doubtful whether a single one of these lacks altogether aboriginal remains of some sort. Many, in fact, are known to contain several distinct kinds of antiquities. It is true, of course, that the human history of adjoining counties may often prove to have been very similar. Even so, when the local diversity of environment and the area involved are borne in mind it will be readily seen that the problems are legion. In the long run an accurate reconstruction of Kansas prehistory will depend on the relative completeness of our information on the several regions and on the successful integration of these smaller units into a larger whole. Meanwhile, if we are willing to content ourselves with painting a picture in broader strokes, a tentative bird's-eye view of the area may be gotten through carefully planned survey work.

During the past summer (1937) the United States National Museum undertook a survey of northeastern Kansas as the initial step in a projected state-wide study. Sampling excavations, in each case involving from two to five weeks' work, were carried out in strategic localities and at unusually promising village sites. Concurrently, the surrounding districts were reconnoitered and records made of all possible additional archeological remains. From these eventually can be selected sites for future more thoroughgoing investigations should time and funds permit. Local collections, while sometimes of doubtful scientific value because they lack accurate records, were also studied for possible leads. Because of the time consumed in excavation the area covered was necessarily less extensive than it would have been had efforts been limited to a purely surface reconnaissance. At the same time, since a substantial majority of the data recovered were the result of subsurface work, any interpretations derived therefrom would tend to be less open to the numerous doubts and uncertainties which too often surround surface finds. Actual excavation thus provided the backbone for the survey; surface reconnaissance furnished supplemental materials for consideration in distributional and preliminary comparative studies. Because of their obviously greater bearing on human problems, river drain-

ages were selected as a basis for the work rather than such arbitrary and modern political units as the county.

Selection of northeastern Kansas for the initial step in a projected state-wide archeological survey was due to several factors. In the first place, the Missouri river, which forms the northeastern boundary, gives every evidence of having been, since time immemorial, an important artery of travel for trade and migration as well as the habitat of several successive peoples. Logically it might be expected that any significant incursions into Kansas from the east would leave some traces of their passage along this great waterway and on its westerly branch, the Kansas river, so that careful excavations might reveal the temporal order in which these several groups came. Secondly, there appeared to be a good chance for determining the distinguishing characteristics of early Kansa culture, inasmuch as this tribe, apparently since earliest recorded date, has been at home in the locality. It was believed that the identification and definition of this Kansa material might lead to the verification of a number of problematically documented sites, besides opening an avenue of approach into the prehistoric past through these documented historic sites. Lastly, Sterns had long ago indicated possible major trends in this region and northward so that our follow-up excavations would dovetail with his work, as well as with that currently under way in southeastern Nebraska.

Detailed studies have not yet been made of the specimens and data collected during the past season, hence their possible significance may not be fully realized at this time. However, a brief description of the sites worked may convey to the reader an understanding of the manifold possibilities in prehistory awaiting development in this portion of Kansas.

Scattered along both banks of the Missouri above and below the mouth of the Kansas river for an unknown distance are a number of small but prolific sites which at once impress the trained observer as markedly dissimilar to anything heretofore regarded as characteristic of the Plains. Two of the largest and most promising of these are located on opposite sides of the Missouri just above Kansas City, one in Wyandotte county, Kansas, the other in Platte county, Missouri. Of the two, the latter was the more readily accessible; and because it was also threatened with early destruction as a result of highway construction and building activities it was selected for partial excavation. It lay on a small terrace of about six acres extent on the right bank of Line creek, where the stream

issues from the bluffs to make its way southward across the Missouri bottoms.

Here were found abundant evidences of a village inhabited and abandoned long before the coming of white men. Broken pottery, burned limestone boulders, worked and unworked flints, and animal bones were mixed with dark soil to a depth varying from thirteen to thirty inches, being especially abundant in and near old cache or refuse pits. There were no traces of firepits, postholes, or other house features, from which it may be assumed that the habitations were entirely of perishable materials such as poles and thatch or mats. From the pits came charred maize and beans, indicating agriculture; pawpaw seeds and several species of wild nuts; and the bones of many animals which must have been used for food. Among the latter, remains of the deer were particularly numerous, bison much less so. Pottery included a great many fragments of several distinct kinds, but no whole vessels. Some of the jars were evidently large and thick-walled, with a more or less pointed bottom and a straight or slightly incurving rim. These were made of clay mixed with coarse gravel and the outer surfaces were covered with impressions from a cord-wrapped paddle. Just below the rim frequently may be found a row of bosses punched outward from the interior of the vessel. Cord-roughened potsherds of this description have been found at several deeply buried sites in Nebraska, where they seem to be the earliest (that is, the oldest) pottery type so far recognized. There is also a resemblance to pottery called "Woodland" by archeologists farther east. Similarly shaped, but differently decorated, are jars which lack the cord-roughening, but bear the impressions of a small curved tool which was evidently rocked back and forth across the surface. Here the neck below the rim was apparently left plain. Still different and greatly superior in quality and decorative technique are numerous sherds from smaller and thinner walled vessels. Rims of characteristic form were ornamented with incised crisscross lines, below which was placed a row of small punch marks. The neck was plain and smoothed while the body was covered with rocker impressions or, less commonly, roulette marks. Sometimes, the body decoration was separated into smoothed and roughened areas by incised, wide, shallow grooves. A few incomplete pieces indicate that square vessels with round corners were made. These characteristics are reminiscent of the so-called Hopewellian type of pottery, commonly associated in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys with the most elaborately developed mound cul-

tures. So far as present evidence goes all of these pottery types were made and used by one and the same people in the Kansas City area.

Besides pottery these people also made and used such stone objects as heavy stemmed arrow or spear points, a variety of flint knives and scrapers, chipped and polished celts or skinning tools, three-quarter grooved axes, large, finely chipped blades, and curious cone-shaped or mammiform objects of limestone and gypsum whose use is unknown; bone beaming or skin dressing tools used like a drawshave, awls, perforated bone ornaments in imitation of bear teeth, dressed deer toe bones pierced lengthwise for cup and pin game, eyed needles, weaving tools, and problematical forms; dressed antler arrowpoints, cylinders, and flakers; and a few bits of hematite and native copper. That very typical Plains implement, the hoe made from a bison shoulder blade, was conspicuously absent. Judging from the limited work of local collectors and others on the hills just above the village, burial of the dead appears to have been in or under mounds, rarely with some pottery, copper, or other mortuary accompaniments. It is possible that some of their burial mounds contained stone chambers. All in all, the picture presented is markedly unlike that so far developed for any of the various complexes in the western Plains, and relationships are clearly stronger with the east (or south?) than with the west. The remains found here show very little resemblance to any known protohistoric or historic materials in the region. Besides the Kansas City area, sherds of apparent Hopewellian type have been found as far west as Manhattan on the Kansas river, far beyond their hitherto known occurrence.

We may turn now to remains of very different character. In July, 1804, Lewis and Clark camped near the mouth of Independence creek, some 60 miles above the present Kansas City, where they briefly described the ruins of an old Kansa Indian village visited by M. De Bourgmont in 1724. This, if correctly identified, is the earliest village of that tribe which has been certainly located. Kansa material culture is nowhere adequately described and since its relation to earlier archeological remains in the area is wholly problematic, we next undertook an examination of the site recorded by Lewis and Clark. Unfortunately for the archeologist, the most desirable location for an Indian village hereabouts has been occupied since 1854 by the town of Doniphan. From a pre-Civil War high of almost 2,000 persons the population has shrunk to a

present figure of some 500 or slightly more, but the nearly obliterated ruins of old store buildings, hotels, wineries, and residences are still to be found on the fine creek terraces in and about Doniphan. On the hills east of the town two prehistoric circular pithouses were opened; from them came only such strictly aboriginal remains as pottery, bent tubular clay pipes, polished celts, etc. The material is assignable to the so-called Nebraska culture, which flourished before the coming of the whites along the Missouri from Kansas City to Omaha, Neb., and beyond. On the slopes immediately above Doniphan fourteen cache pits were opened, and from them were taken charred corn and beans, innumerable animal bones, copper, iron, glass beads, small lead crosses, catlinite, and a limited quantity of native bonework and potsherds. This material, showing clear evidence of contact with white traders, is later than the two house sites found nearby, and may be Kansa. To the same general early historic period probably belong a dozen slab-covered graves found on nearby hilltops, some of which contained metal objects and glass beads. Regrettably enough, in years gone by, much looting of these remains has taken place, so that the outlook for a really comprehensive study of an early historic Kansa site here is not especially reassuring.

Twenty miles north of Doniphan, on the bluffs overlooking Wolf creek valley about two miles southwest of the Missouri river, is a ten-acre site which has for several decades been a mecca for local relic hunters. Despite the discouraging comments of many local residents, who assured us that all worthwhile relics had long ago been carried off, we were able to open forty-six cache pits and one circular pithouse. Pottery of rather distinctive type was found in profusion. Almost without exception the clay of which it was made had been mixed with crushed shell. Vessels seem to have been fairly large with rounded bottoms, and decoration consisted of geometric incised line and dot patterns. Many, perhaps most, of the sherds appear to bear no decoration whatever. There are a few grit-tempered sherds indicating intercourse with the early historic Pawnee on the Loup river in Nebraska. Other artifacts include numerous small, triangular, unnotched arrowpoints, planoconvex (thumb-nail) end scrapers, drills, various kinds of knives, catlinite fragments, grooved mauls, ground celts, and irregular quartzite mealing stones with flattened or depressed upper surfaces; bone awls, needles, and hoes; antler projectile points; and limited quantities of copper, iron, and glass beads. The material is closely related to

the widespread so-called Oneota culture of the upper Mississippi valley, a protohistoric horizon believed by many to be early Siouan. A site yielding almost identical remains, but with pottery of superior quality, has already been partially excavated by the Nebraska Historical Society near Rulo, Neb., some twenty miles north of Wolf creek, but there white trade material has not been dug up. Wolf creek thus appears to be a later phase of the Oneota, and no doubt its inhabitants were in direct contact with European traders.

From Wolf creek our party moved to Manhattan on the Kansas river at the mouth of the Blue. This area has long been known to abound with aboriginal remains of several different types. About three miles below the town is the site of a Kansa village of 1819, visited by Maj. S. H. Long. Unfortunately, much of the village has gone down the Kansas river, but in the portion remaining one circular pithouse was excavated with an entrance passage to the east and four center posts. Others can still be found nearby. This house, as well as several cache pits and middens, contained quantities of iron, steel traps, copper, glass and old china, with small amounts of native work in stone and bone. Pottery was wholly absent, perhaps because by this late date it had been largely or entirely superseded by the kettles and pots of the white traders. From the surface of a nearby cemetery came bits of cloth, fragments of old army uniforms, and copper and brass buttons, but no excavation was practicable at the time.

A much older prewhite village on Wildcat creek, two miles west of Manhattan yielded a large rectangular house site with four center posts, a south entranceway, and several small internal caches. From this house and neighboring excavations came quantities of cord-roughened grit-tempered pottery, small notched arrowpoints, thumbnail scrapers, a cupstone, a mealing slab, and a few minor odds and ends. Some sort of relationship appears to be indicated between these remains and materials found on the upper Blue river in northern Kansas and southern Nebraska, but no detailed correlation is yet possible. Neither can we say what tribe left these materials. Cairns and small burial mounds in this area occasionally contain incised bone beads, shell disk beads, and other relics; the associated human remains are nearly always extremely fragmentary. Possibly these prehistoric burial sites will ultimately prove to belong to the builders of the nearby rectangular earthlodges. The Manhattan locality in general, centering about the confluence of two rivers and a number of small, but exceedingly attractive creeks,

is one of great promise for contributing a few chapters which will aid the archeologist in reconstructing the prehistory of Kansas.

While it is manifestly impossible as yet to fully evaluate the results of archeological work to date in Kansas, a few general conclusions may be ventured. In the first place, it is becoming increasingly evident that many of the creek and river valleys throughout the state were once the habitat of industrious farming peoples who lived in relatively permanent peaceable communities long before as well as after the coming of the white man. As might be expected on environmental grounds, the eastern sections seem to have been particularly favored, but unmistakable traces of the early horticulturists have also been found more than 300 miles west of Kansas City in the dry High Plains region. Furthermore, it is apparent that the sites cover a fairly long period of time and were the products of several distinct cultural groups. For most of the state we are still in the dark as to the order in which these groups came, but the field work which has already been done in northeastern Kansas has resulted in the delineation there of at least two very different complexes and the tentative identification of two or three others.

It is even possible to arrange these in a preliminary local sequence, though it is by no means certain that this will hold for the state as a whole. The Hopewellian sites at and near Kansas City, the circular Nebraska culture houses at Doniphan, and the rectangular earth lodges excavated near Manhattan all present more or less distinct associations of traits, yet all are precontact as shown by the complete absence of European trade goods. On the strength of our general knowledge of the Plains area it is very probable that each of these sites is representative of a more or less widespread type of native culture. Their exact relationship to each other is not yet clear on the basis of work so far done in Kansas because there they have not been found in stratified sequence. That is to say, there are at present no known sites where two or more of these cultural types occur together or one above the other so that we may say positively which is the earlier. However, in southeastern Nebraska, relationships for what are very probably the same or closely related types have been worked out.

Assuming a parallel succession in northeastern Kansas, we may suggest tentatively that the first named complex (the Hopewellian) probably preceded the other two in point of time. On the other hand, the Oneota site on Wolf creek is more recent, since there is

direct archeological evidence that it dates from a time after the establishment of trade relations with the whites. From a still later period are the cache pits and stone-covered graves (but not the circular house sites) at Doniphan, where European material is yet more abundant. Finally, at Manhattan both archeology and history indicate the relatively very late occupation of the Kansa village. The validity of this proposed sequence hinges in part on more extended work in certain of the cultures, and investigations on a much wider front are necessary before it can be brought into proper relation to the rest of the state.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have used such terms as Oneota, Hopewellian, etc., which are nothing more than labels for the convenience of the professional archeologist. Each name designates a particular group of associated cultural traits or man-made objects which differs in greater or less degree from all other groups of traits. If the nonspecialist finds their use confusing, we may restate our conclusions in another way. All of the successive sedentary pottery-making groups of prehistoric Indians so far recognized in northeastern Kansas based their modes of life very largely on the cultivation of maize and beans. They may be distinguished from one another through their use of different types of habitations, baked clay vessels, artifacts of stone, bone, horn, and shell, and burial methods.

The earliest of these peoples apparently came in from the east or northeast, spreading westward up the Kansas river and its branches. Their villages of perishable thatch or bark huts were placed on small flood-free terraces in or at the mouth of creek valleys tributary to the main river valleys, less commonly on the higher second bottoms of the latter. Their material remains, so far as archeology is concerned, strongly reflect their former participation in native civilizations once widely distributed through the Ohio and upper (and lower?) Mississippi valleys. Just how long ago they came and how far west and south they spread we do not know. Ultimately, however, they were superseded by another group or groups, possibly with more southeasterly affinities.

These peoples lived in round or square earth-covered pithouses strung in desirable locations along the banks of the smaller creeks. In the immediate valley of the Missouri they chose the lofty narrow ridge tops. Their pottery vessels were very distinct in shape and otherwise from those of the earlier peoples, although certain characteristics such as the use of a cord-wrapped paddle in decorating vessel exteriors may have been carried over. Other artifact types

were likewise markedly different as were their burial customs. The loose rambling character of the settlements is evidence of a peaceful occupation, and there are indications of a development of several regional variations.

The mode of life of certain of these groups was somewhat like that of the historic Pawnee, except that they lacked the horse and other traits introduced by Europeans. It cannot be said on present evidence that the Pawnee are their lineal descendants, but the resemblances are thought by some to indicate a possible relationship. Further work may partially close the apparent time gap existing now between the first and these second peoples, but at present the dissimilarities appear so marked that the arrival of new and different ethnic groups is suggested. In very late prehistoric or early historic times came still another group introducing shell-tempered incised pottery vessels and other distinctive implement types. They made some use of the earthlodge which they may have borrowed from other earlier Plains dwellers. They almost certainly arrived in Kansas from the north or northeast, possibly as the ancestors of such Siouan tribes as the Oto, Missouri, Kansa or Osage.

Just what transpired in the area subsequently we cannot yet say in detail, but one thing at least is indisputable, viz., the melting away of native culture before European civilization. With the introduction of the horse, firearms, steel traps, metal pots and pans, glass trinkets, and alcoholic stimulants, the old aboriginal way of life was doomed, so that after about 1700, the archeologist finds himself dealing less and less with the products of spontaneously inspired native arts and crafts, more and more with the relics of a warped and decadent culture profoundly influenced by the ways of the white man.

Several vexing problems are immediately suggested by the phenomena outlined above. The archeologist is, or properly should be, interested in cause as well as occurrence, therefore he would like to know what historical or environmental factors were responsible for the apparent successive waves of peoples into the Plains. Since the area is climatically a borderland subject to recurrent droughts and these groups all depended in large part on the successful cultivation of maize and beans, it would be tempting to attribute their alternate advance and retreat to corresponding pulsations of climate. Thus, a period of favorable years might have encouraged a westward spread of peoples from the Mississippi-Missouri valley into regions beyond the maize optimum where a succession of subnormal

years might later compel a retraction of territory. Against this is the consideration that the Indian gardened intensively in the creek bottoms, possibly with specially developed drought-resistant plant varieties, where he would be much less affected by fluctuations in rainfall than is the upland farmer today.

In the present state of our knowledge a question could even be raised as to whether these waves actually are due to distinct cultural or ethnic incursions or merely represent different stages in a very incompletely known single line of cultural evolution. This is probably mostly an academic argument since the accumulating evidence does not indicate that any of the different prehistoric peoples were a direct outgrowth from their predecessors in the area. It is not even certain yet to what extent ideas and customs were passed on from one to another of the successive groups, though further field-work will doubtless help to clear up this point. Perhaps the main cultural continuum or developmental stream is to be looked for to the east of our area where environmental conditions were more consistently favorable for native horticultural civilizations.

Other unanswered questions concern possible connections of these early Kansans with the highly developed Puebloan peoples of New Mexico and Colorado and with the various moundbuilding groups of the Mississippi valley, as well as the rôle of nonhorticultural hunting peoples in prehistoric days. That a very ancient hunting culture may have existed is hinted by the occasional discovery of projectile points reminiscent of the so-called Folsom type, which characterize the oldest known camp sites in the New World. These, however, preceded the introduction of maize cultivation by many hundreds or even thousands of years. What events were taking place in the Great Plains during this long interval? Were there tribes in the bison plains who lived only by the chase at the same time that the corn-growing peoples inhabited their villages in the creek valleys? If so, were their contacts with the village dwellers friendly or hostile, and how did their mode of life compare with that of such later hunter folk as the Comanche and Sioux? These are but samples of the host of questions and problems confronting the student of prehistory in Kansas and the Great Plains. Whatever the answers, the point to be emphasized here is that problems do exist; moreover that very often the solution awaits only the serious attention of investigators trained not alone in archeology but also in related sciences, such as geography, geology, and biology.

If archeology in Kansas is in its infancy then one of its most important potential allies here, physical anthropology, can best be described as yet unborn. Probably much of northeastern Kansas will remain for all time a "terra incognita" to the student of human physical types, since neither climatic conditions nor native burial methods were conducive to the preservation of human bones. In the majority of known burial sites scattered along the lower Kansas river and on the adjacent Missouri, the practice seems to have involved deposition of the corpse on a scaffold with the exposed and weather-softened bones later gathered up and placed in a mound. Today only tiny fragments of bone have survived, these often being partially destroyed by fire, and the original conformations and measurements can never be recovered. Elsewhere, and particularly in some of the later sites, the case is not so hopeless. At least one large prehistoric burial ground has been found in the Kansas valley where the skeletons, individually interred, are in condition suitable for study. As yet these have not been subject to expert examination, but there appear to be two fairly distinct types. This is the more intriguing because among the associated cultural remains, mostly typical of the immediate region, there are several items which almost certainly represent trade pieces from the lower Arkansas-Red river area far to the south. The possible importance of studies on the physical types of Kansas lies in the fact that the several waves of incoming peoples, while all Indians, may have been of different physical appearance in addition to possessing dissimilar cultural inventories. Herein may lie additional clues as to their original habitats, as well as their position in the general picture of prehistoric America.

The immediate objective of archeological investigations in Kansas should, then, be a determination of the distinguishing characteristics of the various early peoples whose remains are to be found throughout the state. Ultimately will come their arrangement in proper sequence relative to one another, and the fitting of this sequence into the larger Plains scheme. The steps already taken in this direction in northeastern Kansas augur well for the future. It is known that in other sections different remains occur so that other sequences will have to be set up and these in turn brought into conformity with one another. It is also likely that a thorough study of early historical documents will permit identification of additional sites known to have been inhabited by named tribes since the coming of Europeans. Use of this avenue of approach has already

amply justified itself in the Pueblo, Iroquois, and Pawnee areas, and there is no reason to doubt its applicability in Kansas. Prospects seem good for picking up traces of even that most elusive of all creatures, geologically ancient man, in western Kansas. Until concrete facts along these and other lines which may suggest themselves as fieldwork progresses have been collected and arrayed systematically, the proper interpretation of the prehistory of Kansas will be severely handicapped.

Here it may be well to insert a few words of caution. The collecting of Indian arrowheads and other relics as a hobby is attracting a steadily widening circle of devotees. Insofar as this reflects an increasing interest in the serious study of human prehistory it is an encouraging sign, since few other sciences present a greater opportunity for profitable coöperation between the specialist and the intelligent hobbyist. Unfortunately, where such collecting involves digging, it becomes a grave problem if the excavator lacks the requisite technical knowledge. For the enthusiastic but untrained amateur who looks beyond the artifact for the story it may tell there is hope, since with intelligent guidance he may be able eventually to make a very material contribution to scientific research. Too many persons, however, collect only in the hope of securing specimens finer than those found by their neighbors and competitors, or of such nature as to be offered for sale on the market. It should be remembered that the number of archeological sites is very definitely limited, and their excavation by such individuals leads quickly to the ultimate destruction of the very materials with which the prehistorian must work. Simple as the methods and techniques of archeology may appear to be they are nevertheless fundamental, and unless they are conscientiously observed irreparable loss of data will ensue. A specimen torn from its context without a record is like a single word or phrase taken from the written page; neither has meaning unless we know exactly where it belongs or with what it was originally associated. Similarly, a site dug out with no records is like a page taken out of a history book and destroyed; it can never be replaced. For this reason it cannot be too strongly urged upon the amateur that archeological excavations should be undertaken only under the guidance or with the advice of a trained and experienced archeologist.

How far we may eventually go in the matter of explaining observable phenomena and drawing general truths therefrom remains for the future to disclose. It is obvious that the geographical posi-

tion of Kansas has exposed it to cultural influences and ethnic movements from a number of directions and from several highly developed centers of cultural differentiation. This, combined with a certain climatic instability, offers a rare opportunity for those interested in culture growth and change or in the subject of human ecology in the Great Plains. From a practical point of view, it will be interesting to see whether the archeologist in his search for explanations may not find concrete evidence that prehistoric man in the Great Plains was in some measure influenced by such vagaries of climate as are today being experienced by the white man.

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The Hoogland Examination: The United States v. John Brown, Jr., et al

JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION

THE spring of 1856, nearly two years after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, became the testing period for the enforcement of the territorial laws in Kansas. As the legislature of 1855 had fallen completely into the hands of the Proslavery men the Free-state men had formally repudiated both the legislature and the laws enacted by it. This nullification had been asserted in a series of conventions held in the course of the summer of 1855. The territorial government had not been able to meet the challenge, even if it had been so disposed, because the publication of the statutes was delayed so that distribution of copies to officials was not completed until March and April, 1856, just in time for use in the spring terms of the territorial district courts.

For judicial purposes the territory was divided into three districts, but in only two of these did the court function. The first, Chief Justice S. D. LeCompte's district, comprised the northeastern counties, including Douglas, south of the Kansas river. This was the most populous region and therefore the most important. The second, Judge S. G. Cato's district, comprised the southeastern counties. Anxiety was widespread over the outcome of the first real term of court and the crisis came in Douglas county, the leading Free-state stronghold, during April and May, resulting in the so-called "sack of Lawrence" on May 21.

In southeastern Kansas the apprehension of Free-state men resulted in a meeting April 16 at Osawatomie, near the intersection of the boundary lines of four counties, Lykins (Miami), Linn, Franklin and Anderson. After bitter debate, which caused the withdrawal of the more conservative element, the radical rump passed resolutions repudiating the territorial government and laws, and the tax laws in particular, declaring a policy of forcible resistance if enforcement were attempted. About the same time military companies were organized, one under the command of John Brown, Jr., its membership being drawn from Free-state settlers of southeastern Franklin and northeastern Anderson counties.

At the time of the Lawrence crisis that town sent out calls for military companies and individuals from all parts of the territory to march to its assistance. Response to these appeals precipitated the question against whom they intended to fight; the United States troops, a legally constituted posse of the United States marshal, or a Missouri mob. The nature of the proposed warfare and the legal status of the participants depended upon the answer given to that question. The possibility of treasonable intent cannot be dismissed as merely the hallucinations of Border Ruffian partisans. The rifle company of John Brown, Jr., was among those that responded to the call of Lawrence. It was from his camp near Lawrence that John Brown, Sr., set out on a secret expedition Friday afternoon, May 23, and it was to his son's camp that he returned Sunday night, May 25-26. The Pottawatomie massacre, the midnight murder of five Proslavery settlers, occurred in the interval. The Browns were accused and young John and Jason were arrested. The search for the murderers threw southeastern Kansas into turmoil. Affidavits were sworn out and warrants issued; the investigation going much beyond the immediate question of the massacre. The Hoogland examination, the subject of this article, is a part of that wider investigation into the affairs of southeastern Kansas, and in particular, into the nature of the Lawrence expedition headed by John Brown, Jr.

During the summer of 1856 the elder John Brown wrote to his family a most unusual letter, part of which was dated June 26, in which he misrepresented grossly his activities of the past weeks. As so frequently in his writing, Brown practiced his deception by enigmatic statements, half truths, inferences and omissions. The impression he wished to create was confirmed in this case by the misrepresentations of the newspapers. Inspired in this fashion, his daughter Ruth, wife of Henry Thompson, wrote her father July 20 in part as follows:

. . . The reception of your letters made us all both glad and sorrowful. Glad to hear that all were alive, but exceedingly sorry to hear that any of our friends were taken prisoners, or wounded, or sick. This was indeed sad intelligence, and we still live as we did for the last six weeks, in dreadful suspense. What the next news will be makes us almost sick at heart. But we hope for the best. We have seen for some time accounts of trouble in Kansas, that you were obliged to live in a cave to keep away from the ruffians, that two of your sons were taken prisoners, one of whom feigned insanity, (as they called it), and last that you had fallen into the hands of the border ruffians (or what might prove the same thing, the federal authority of Kansas).

But last week's papers published the trial of John Brown, Jun., by the bogus court, who had been called Captain Brown, which we all supposed to be you, not knowing that John was captain of a company. We here, and at ninety-five, take the New York *Weekly Times*, which gives us a great deal of Kansas news. It denounces in strong terms the conduct of the administration in reference to Kansas difficulties. Last week's paper gave a description of the horrible treatment of John and Jason and the other prisoners who were taken to Tecumseh. It says that it was a scene which has no parallel in a republican government. You have no doubt heard all the particulars from Jason if you have seen him. We supposed that Frederick was the one the paper spoke of as feigning insanity. This was taken from a St. Louis paper; but the *Times* said it was John, and was "caused by his inhuman treatment." Oh! my poor afflicted brother, what will become of him? Will it injure his reason for life? We hope not, but have great anxiety for him, and we sympathize most deeply with Wealthy. It is dreadful. I can hardly endure the thought. We felt afraid that if it was Frederick, it would kill him; but we pray that he may escape any such trouble, and that John will entirely recover. I cannot be thankful enough that my dear husband so narrowly escaped being killed, and Salmon also. I cannot attribute it to anything but the merciful preservation of God, . . . I wish John and Jason had been in your company. You must have had very exciting times at the battle you fought, before it was over. I should hardly have thought twenty-three men would have laid down their arms to so small a company. But "might was with the right" at that time. How mean it was in Colonel Sumner not to give up his prisoners after you gave up yours. . . . Gerrit Smith has had his name put down for ten thousand dollars toward starting a company of one thousand men to Kansas. We are constantly hearing of companies starting, but do not hear of their getting through without trouble. . . .¹

The report of the "trial of John Brown, Jr.," to which Ruth referred, has been overlooked by every biographer of Brown, and in spite of the fact that the historian's attention was called to it by Ruth's letter. Not only did the New York *Times* publish all the testimony taken at the hearing before Com. Edward Hoogland, but the St. Louis *Democrat* did also.² The *Times* Kansas correspondent "Randolph" (William Hutchinson) wrote his news letter June 23 and forwarded with it the text of the hearings. He falsified the whole matter by representing the hearings as a trial and by saying that three were convicted. The *Times* itself compounded the offense by publishing a strong editorial introducing the "Randolph"

1. Brown's letter is printed in F. B. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, pp. 236-241. Ruth's letter is found in an English biography of Brown, relatively little known in the United States—R. D. Webb, *Life and Letters of Captain John Brown . . . With Notices Of Some Of His Confederates* (London, 1861), pp. 423-426.

The ignorance of the Eastern members of the Brown family of what had occurred in Kansas is only too plainly shown by the wish expressed by Ruth that the brothers John and Jason had been in their father's company—participants in the Pottawatomie massacre—but she did not know what her father's company had been doing.

2. New York *Semi-Weekly Times*, July 8, 1856. St. Louis *Democrat*, July 4, 1856. O. G. Villard, in his *John Brown*, referred to the manuscript record of the hearing (see p. 613, note 14) but obviously he did not make any use of it in his book.

letter and the hearings, in which instead of following the text of the hearings the editor followed "Randolph's" copy. In reality, the judicial proceeding referred to was a preliminary hearing, to which every citizen under such circumstances would be entitled under the American code of judicial procedure, for the purpose of determining whether there was sufficient evidence to justify holding the accused for the grand jury. The outcome was that two, John Brown, Jr., and Henry H. Williams, were bound over on the charge of treason to await the action of the grand jury at the September term of court. The editorial is worth reproducing as damning evidence of what lengths the *Times* was willing to go in sensationalism and falsification of the news when the facts lay before them:

We publish this morning, together with some interesting Kansas letters, a faithful report of the examination of the Free-State prisoners at Tecumseh, charged with the crime of treason against the United States. The proceedings in a case so novel—carried on in the name of justice and under the formula of law—will be read with some curiosity and no little surprise. At first sight the reader may imagine that the whole story is an absurd farce; but a farce it is not. The report of this examination, it will be observed, is authenticated and verified from beginning to end by the clerk of the Court. All that is here recorded actually occurred. The indictment was originally laid against seven individuals conspicuous among those who have endeavored to make Kansas a Free State. For this crime they were arrested near Osawatomie, and, like a gang of galley slaves, they were chained two and two together and driven from thence to Tecumseh—a distance of sixty-five miles—where they have undergone a barbarous imprisonment and still more barbarous semblance of a trial for treason. One of the prisoners, John Brown,—unable to bear up against this misfortune—was driven mad by the treatment he received. The reader will perceive that the evidence adduced on this curious trial is precisely the same against all the prisoners; and yet, strange to say, three have been convicted while five have been unconditionally released. What further proceedings will be taken in regard to those who have been sent back to prison remains to be seen, but the fact that this mock trial has actually taken place is of itself an outrage, under color of law, in the absence of the positive proof we now produce, few would believe.

There are important facts concerning the examination, which came out clearly in the testimony as printed, that should have set the editor of the *Times* to thinking. No indictment of a grand jury was involved. The warrants for arrest were issued on the strength of an affidavit sworn to by a Free-state man. All the witnesses examined were Free-state men. Contrary to the editorial statement, the charges were not the result merely of the conspicuous position of the parties in the Free-state movement, but of their participation in the Osawatomie meeting of April 16 which had adopted resolutions

declaring forcible resistance to the enforcement of the laws, and of their subsequent membership in a military organization supposedly designed to resist the government by putting those resolutions into effect. The weak point in the case was the absence of specific evidence that the Lawrence expedition under John Brown, Jr., was designed to execute the Osawatomie resolutions by resistance to legally constituted authority. The evidence made it clear, however, that John Brown, Jr., was insane before he was arrested and therefore that his treatment by the authorities after his arrest was not the cause of his mental derangement as charged by the *Times* and the Free-state men. Although the evidence already available should have been adequate to establish this point, the force of the "Brown Legend" had been so overwhelming that many have doubted. Hereafter certainly there can be no further question.

The manuscript of the Hoogland examination came to the Kansas State Historical Society from M. W. Blackman, of Syracuse, N. Y., in 1929. He had received the papers from his father, W. I. R. Blackman, who had come into possession of them in his capacity as an officer in the Kansas Scientific and Historical Society. Edward Hoogland had presented them to the society on January 28, 1861, and upon its demise Blackman had cared for them. At the time he presented the papers to the society in 1861 Hoogland stated that:

At my house they [the prisoners] were as well treated as circumstances permitted. The town was full of their political enemies who were much excited, and it was generally understood, before Judge Cato turned them over to me for examination as United States commissioner, that the real object of their arrest was to hold them as principals or participants in the Pottawatomie Murders. Their situation was critical. Judge Cato declined to proceed with the examination and left town. Reports from reliable sources led to the belief that Old John Brown was approaching with a force of 200 or 300 men to rescue them. Marshal Donaldson gave orders to the guards in case of an attack or attempt to escape, that the prisoners should all be shot, instantly. From information sent to him, Old John Brown gave up the idea of attempting a rescue and on the arrival of the witnesses from Osawatomie the examination proceeded. Although I was satisfied that there was not sufficient evidence to convict any of the prisoners in any fairly constituted court yet I knew that surrounding circumstances and considerations for their personal safety would not permit a general discharge of them. The fact that I was a New Yorker and had been appointed commissioner as early as July 1855, and was not in sympathy with the attempts to make Kansas a slave state, was generally known to those by whom I was surrounded, and consequences were inferred which subsequent developments showed would certainly have resulted, had all the prisoners been released at that time. *To secure the safety of all*, John Brown, Jr. and Henry H. Williams were placed in charge of the

Marshal and the other prisoners discharged and granted safe conduct to their homes.

It will be seen that the original warrant issued by Judge Cato was withheld, and its absence accounted for by affidavit. An inference may be drawn therefrom in regard to the "regularity of the proceedings."

Several important considerations induced me to refrain from filing or delivering over to the U. S. District Attorney or to the Grand Jury, the evidence now here placed in your custody.

It must be admitted that there are a number of difficulties encountered in interpreting the testimony before Hoogland. The record did not contain the transcript of the questions asked. From the answers given, therefore, the reader must infer the form of the questions. Bearing in mind that the witnesses were Free-state men and participants in the Lawrence expedition, the historian would like to be able to satisfy himself whether they were reluctant witnesses answering evasively and giving the minimum of information, or whether their answers represent a full and fair reply to the questions asked. Many points of information are missing which the historian would like to have, but it is impossible to be certain whether the defect lies in the questioning or in the answers. The probabilities would seem to be that the questioning was inadequate. Had the prosecution been aggressive, it would seem that the defense would have challenged questions or entered exceptions, and that the cross-examinations would have brought out facts more in the nature of rebuttals to the direct examination.

Aside from the direct purpose of the examination, there is much information of interest in the testimony. The Osawatomie men on the Lawrence expedition had no real connection with either John Brown, father or son, and the Browns belonged to the Pottawatomie community, not to the Osawatomie community. This is an important point in geography on which the biographers of Brown have been much confused.

Indirectly there is important new light on the meeting of April 16 at Osawatomie at which the famous resolutions were adopted. Heretofore too literal a reliance has been placed upon the official report of the meeting supplied to the press by the chairman, Richard Mendenhall, and the secretary, Oscar V. Dayton, who stated that the meeting was held in pursuance of a call signed by twenty-three citizens to consider action to be taken in view of attempts being made to assess and collect taxes. They represented that the meeting was "large and enthusiastic," and that the resolutions had been

framed by a committee of five, and that they were "adopted unanimously." Now it appears that John Brown was one of the prime movers in urging those resolutions. Also there is confirmation from Free-state witnesses of Martin White's contention that the meeting was sharply divided, many Free-state men opposing the resolutions. White's statements have been ignored usually, because he was branded by Free-state men as a proslavery man, and it was he who, after leaving the Free-state cause, became actively associated with the Proslavery party and shot Frederick Brown the day of the battle of Osawatomie. The evidence goes even further than White's statements, however, in showing that the Osawatomie meeting split up and only a rump of the meeting was present when the resolutions were finally adopted, the Browns being among those who stayed to the end. While on this point, it is surprising how much available John Brown material has been overlooked by the historians and biographers. John Brown, Jr., himself reported on certain phases of these events at the time and printed his letter in the Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, May 10, 1856, signing it J. B., Jr. He maintained that the resolutions adopted at Osawatomie had originated at a local meeting on the Pottawatomie and that they had been taken from there to the Osawatomie meeting.

At this point the historian has good reason to regret the absence of the transcript of the questions asked at the Hoogland examination. He would like to know, also, whether the prosecuting attorney had read the *Herald of Freedom* for May 10, 1856, in which the news letter of John Brown, Jr., had been printed. That letter had stated explicitly that the Pottawatomie Rifles had visited Judge Cato's court when it sat at Dutch Henry's, that written inquiry had been made whether the court intended to enforce the territorial laws, and that, on not receiving a satisfactory reply, the Osawatomie resolutions were adopted by the Pottawatomie Rifles as a company and were presented to Judge Cato by a committee delegated for that purpose. Had Judge Cato been present at the Hoogland examination, he could have given this testimony himself, and could thus have established clearly the connection between the military company and the resolutions, together with the deliberate intimidation of the court which was evidently a part of the purpose of this Free-state group.

In the "Brown Legend," the Pottawatomie murders have usually been justified on the ground of outrages and threats against Free-state men in the Pottawatomie community. The evidence in this

Hoogland hearing was conclusive to the effect that the Osawatomie men came through that community on Friday afternoon and that they met Old Brown and his murder squad on their way to the crime, and that they found no evidence of disorders. Furthermore, although they remained in camp at Palmyra until Sunday, they knew nothing of any disturbances on the Pottawatomie until the news of the massacre of the five Proslavery men reached them while on their return homeward.

The papers in the possession of Hoogland contained important evidence on matters other than the charges at issue in the examination of June 20. Judge Cato had opened court in Lykins county about the time of the Pottawatomie massacre, and in addition to his duties in that connection, turned his attention to an investigation of the murders in Franklin county, which adjoined Lykins on the west. In the course of these investigations, he took affidavits from several men concerning the affair, and these papers, or a part of them, he turned over to Hoogland before the latter began the treason hearing. Hoogland declared that many of the papers which came into his possession in this manner were misplaced or lost, but among those preserved and deposited with the historical society in 1861 were two important affidavits. The first is the testimony of Amos Hall, undated, which is as follows:

That on last Thursday started up to Otaya Jones Friday met a man on horse back in Company with waggon old man brown was in the waggon some of the party asked him where he was going he said that he was going out on a secret expedition and that he would soon be back. Mr. John Brown, Jun. C. A. Foster Clayton Left camp went to Lawrence (That there was some negroes come to camp John Brown, Jun. Detained the negroes understood so.) Clayton says that this woman made a present of a saddle to him for returning negro I heard John Brown Jun made these remarks that as soon as the news of the murder he said it was good and good news. Testimony nearly same as Holbrook & Woods.³

The last sentence in this affidavit shows that two other witnesses were examined, Holbrook and Woods, and that their testimony was so nearly like Hall's that a separate record of it was not made. In other words, the above statement was supported by three witnesses. A fourth witness was Harvey Jackson, the same man who was examined at length in the treason hearings. Although the handwriting of the scribe is too defective to permit of exact reproduction, Jack-

3. In his endorsement on this package of papers, Hoogland wrote that this testimony was taken before the grand jury. In this he must have been mistaken, because the Lykins county grand jury, then in session, did not have jurisdiction. The Pottawatomie murders were committed in Franklin county and the Lawrence expedition reached into Douglas county. The affidavits were made at the instance of Judge Cato.

son stated substantially as follows: That he saw both John, Jr., and Jason Brown in camp at Palmyra; that H. H. Williams was elected captain at Ottawa Jones's by the Pottawatomie company; that he saw a grey horse standing hitched. (This is the horse John Brown's party had stolen from Dutch Henry on the night of the massacre.) The transcript of testimony closed with the statement "Evidence same as other." As this record was written on the same sheet of paper as the Amos Hall testimony, the reference is certainly to that. In other words, Jackson made a fourth witness to subscribe to the same testimony as recorded from Hall. There can be no escape from the conclusion that these four men all knew that John Brown, Sr., was the leader of the Pottawatomie massacre party, and that the territorial officers were fully apprised of these facts by Free-state men.

From this testimony it seems reasonably certain that John Brown, Jr., knew that his father was the leader of the murder party, and that he gave qualified approval at least to the deed. In later years he claimed that he had no knowledge of his father's participation until some months after the Harper's Ferry raid, but in this, as in many other of his statements, the contemporary evidence is quite conclusively against him. If the implication of the Brown family in the massacre was a factor in the resignation of John Brown, Jr., from the captaincy of the Pottawatomie Rifles, it does not find a place in this testimony. This is another specific instance in which the historian would like to know just what questions were asked the witnesses, because the replies refer only to the controversy over the freeing of the negroes as the decisive incident. The testimony brings out a new point, however, concerning the activities of the Browns after the return from the Lawrence expedition. John, Jr., and Owen Brown had collected a second herd of horses, stolen, of course, which they expected to run off to Lawrence where they would probably have been disposed of as they had done with the first band of horses, stolen on the night of the massacre and traded off somewhere south of Lawrence, probably in the neighborhood of Ottawa Jones's. John, Jr., was arrested, however, before this second expedition was executed, but there is a strong possibility that Owen carried out the plan. This last point must depend for support, however, on other evidence than the Hoogland hearing, but the probabilities are that it was in connection with this enterprise that the Browns were next heard from in the vicinity of Black Jack and became participants in the famous battle of that name on June 2 following. The nature

of this second Lawrence expedition focuses attention on a possible dual purpose associated with the first expedition. If there were no pre-arranged plans, how did the Browns establish their connections to dispose of the first band of stolen horses? In the questioning of witnesses before Hoogland it is evident that the prosecution was pounding at the matter of motives of the John Brown, Jr., company. Of course, the government was trying to establish a treason motive, but the Osawatomie witnesses repeatedly evaded a direct answer and explicitly reiterated that they could speak only of the motives of the Osawatomie men. Although they were successful in concealing something, it seems evident that they had a reason for so conspicuously insisting on differentiating themselves from the Potawatomie company. On the face of the matter, the treason charge, which was the issue in the examination, may be sufficient to explain the peculiarity of their answers, but somehow that explanation does seem to be quite satisfying.

The evidence brought into the judicial proceedings is supplemented by testimony of a Free-state man, only recently available, which shows even more conclusively that the Free-state men knew perfectly well about John Brown's part in the massacre. A private letter of Edward P. Bridgman, dated May 25, 27 and 28, 1856, has been published by M. M. Quaife. Bridgman had just arrived in Kansas May 10 and was one of the Osawatomie men who went on the Lawrence expedition. He was writing for the eyes of his family and not testifying before a Proslavery court and consequently his letter recording the same events as were covered by the Hoogland examination is illuminating, and provides a much needed standard or measuring stick for comparison with the testimony of his associates in court. The first installment of this letter was written at Palmyra on May 25, but before the news of the massacre had arrived. The second installment was written on May 27 after the return to Osawatomie, and in it he declared that the massacre was barbarous and that his party, on the way to Palmyra had met the expedition who said they were on a secret mission. Regarding the murdered men, he said that they had thrown out threats and insults, but he did not specify what or against whom. Regarding the murderers, he said that tomorrow, May 28, something would be done to arrest them; "perhaps they had good motives, some think they had, how that is I don't know." He then added that horses were being stolen on all sides. In his final installment Bridgman wrote:

Since yesterday I have learned that those men who committed those murders were a party of Browns. one of them was formerly in the wool business in Springfield, John Brown his son, (Jr) has been taken today, tho he had no hand in the act, but was knowing to it. . . .⁴

In later years after the "Brown Legend" had gained the ascendancy, and some of the Free-state men were faced with the fact that they had denounced Brown, they claimed that their action was merely to hoodwink the Proslavery party and to gain time. The Bridgman letter coincides so closely, however, with the testimony given before Commissioner Hoogland that it would seem to leave little doubt but that in 1856 these Free-state men were acting in good faith.

The conduct of Edward Hoogland in the Brown case is a matter of more than passing interest. He was a Northern Democrat and in 1856 stood publicly with the national administration in their Kansas policy. By 1861 the Kansas scene had changed. The territory was long since in the hands of the Free-state men, and more recently, of the Republican party. When Hoogland gave the explanation in 1861 that he had been personally Free-state in sentiment in 1856, that he had been under suspicion among his Proslavery associates because of his Northern origin, and that he had committed John Brown, Jr., and H. H. Williams to prison to be held for grand jury action, not because he was convinced of their guilt, but, on the contrary, to save from a worse fate men whom he believed to be innocent, the historian must be forgiven if he raises a question of doubt. Was Hoogland sincere in 1861 in these allegations, or was he again doing what he confessed doing in 1856,—suppressing his personal convictions in order to hold his place and curry favor with the majority party? In examining his record, the investigator finds that he left little tangible evidence that will clarify the problem. He appears to have followed a moderate course during the days of Kansas troubles and kept clear of the extremes of partisan wrangles. Probably the strongest argument in his favor lies in this direction. He was prominent in territorial affairs under both regimes and yet survived with a good reputation. In spite of the peculiar circumstances, then, it appears that he must be given the benefit of the doubt unless or until specific evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

The conduct of Judge Cato raises another question. Why did he withdraw from the preliminary examination of the accused on the treason charges after having already conducted quite successfully

^{4.} M. M. Quaife, ed., "Bleeding Kansas and the Pottawatomie Murders," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. VI (March, 1920), pp. 556-560.

the investigation of the Pottawatomie murders and traced the crime to the Browns? Did he fear that his Southern origin would intensify bitterness and possibly precipitate events which might defeat altogether the course of judicial procedures and that Hoogland's Northern origin might allay excitement and avert the possibility of an attempted rescue, which Hoogland mentioned, and open insurrection in the territory? Unfortunately for historical certainties, not a single scrap of evidence has been found to explain the situation. The bare facts alone are sure; Cato stepped out of the picture, and Hoogland conducted the examination. And if Hoogland's subsequent explanations are dependable, his suppression of the evidence prevented further action.⁵ At any rate, whether guilty or innocent, Hoogland had to bear the brunt of the abuse which the Free-state party heaped upon the territorial judiciary in connection with the treatment of the younger John Brown.

II. PAPERS RELATING TO THE EXAMINATION OF JOHN BROWN, JR.,
ET AL BEFORE U. S. COM. EDWARD HOOGLAND,
JUNE 20, 1856, FOR TREASON

[THE HOOGLAND HEARING. ENDORSEMENTS.]

THE UNITED STATES V JOHN BROWN JR & OTHERS.

JOHN BROWN JR. AND HENRY H. WILLIAMS COMMITTED.

Discharged on bail by Judge Lecompe.
Question—In Which District is the Matter Indictable?

[AFFIDAVIT TO LOSS OF WARRANT]

Territory of Kansas

Shawnee County

William Barbee, Prosecuting Atty for the second Judicial District of the Territory of Kansas, and acting as United States Attorney for the Territory of Kansas, being duly sworn doth depose and say, that upon complaint and information made by one Grant⁶ on or about the 29th day of May A. D. 1856 before the Hon. Sterling G. Cato, associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the said Territory, and Judge of the second Judicial District thereof. A warrant

5. Certainly Hoogland's claim that he suppressed the evidence and prevented thereby further judicial action is seriously weakened by the fact that the transcript of the record was published in both St. Louis and New York. Obviously, however, that publication received no publicity in the territory, and even the historians have overlooked it for some seventy-five years.

6. The story of Grant is reserved for another time and place.

was issued by the said District Judge on the complaint aforesaid made in due form of Law against John Brown Jr., Jason Brown, Poindexter Maness, S. W. Kilborn, Henry H. Williams, Simian [Simion] B. Morse & William Partridge commanding the arrest of them and each of them, to answer to a charge of treason against the United States, in levying War against the United States and the citizens thereof or to that effect & substance which said Warrant was placed in the hands of the United States Marshal for the District of Kansas, in the person of T. W. Hays Deputy, and thereupon, said Marshall on or about the 29th day of May aforesaid on and by virtue of said warrant arrested the said John Brown Jr., Jason Brown, Poindexter Maness, S. W. Kilborn, Henry H. Williams, Simeon B Morse & Wm Partridge arrested was held in custody of said Marshall, some days as prisoner at the town of Paola in the Co of Likins in said Territory, until by order of Wilson Shannon Governor of said Territory, the said Prisoners together with the Warrant aforesaid was by the said Marshall delivered over to Captain Wood command a Company of United States troops for protection & safe keeping that since that time said Prisoners was by order of said Governor brought before the said Judge to be put upon an examination for said charge of treason, but the United States Deputy Marshall Samuel Cramer, who received said Prisoners from said United States troops and brought them before said Judge at the Town of Tecumseh in the County of Shawnee, did not return the said warrant, with said Prisoners, that the deponent has good reason to believe and does believe that said Warrant is lost or mislaid,⁷ and deponent does not know nor can he ascertain where said warrant is

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this 20th day of June 1856

[Signed] WILLIAM BARBEE

Edwd. Hoogland, J. P.

[TRANSCRIPT OF THE EXAMINATION]

The United States
against
John Brown Jr
Jason Brown
Poindexter Maness
Samuel W. Kilborn
Henry H. Williams
Simeon B. Morse
& William Partridge

Warrant issued
by Hon. S. G. Cato, Associate
Jus. of Supreme Court K. T. and
Judge of 2d Judicial District,
May 29th 1856
for
Treason.

Examination of witnesses taken at Tecumseh Court House in the county of Shawnee in the Territory of Kansas on the Twentieth day of June A.D. 1856 before Edward Hoogland an United States commissioner within and for the District and Territory of Kansas, in the matter of a complaint made upon the oath of Grant against the above named John Brown, Jr, Jason Brown, Poindexter Maness, Samuel W. Kilborn, Henry H. Williams, Simeon B Morse &

7. In the manuscript two phrases were crossed out at this point, showing that the witness revised his language as he proceeded. First, he said "or in the hands [or house?] of the said Captain Wood" and then that "Deputy Marshal Cramer has failed in finding." The third phrasing is the one that closes the sentence as printed here.

William Partridge, who are charged upon the oath aforesaid with Treason against the United States.

Wm Barbee Actg Dist Atty of U. S. read affidavit explaining absence of warrant.

[TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH B. HIGGINS]

Joseph B. Higgins called for Prosecution & sworn — I know of a Public meeting being held at Osawatomie some time in April last. the action of the meeting was called in relation to the payment of assessments or taxes. It was not my understanding of it that meeting was intended to set aside all laws passed by the last Legislature. The question was whether the citizens should pay taxes or not. John Brown was one of the persons influential in raising the question. I was not in the meeting when the meeting was first called. After the meeting had proceeded some time I was asked into the meeting by a citizen of the town. At first I refused to go but finally did so. I found the meeting organized and some resolutions drawn up, the purport of which resolutions was to the effect that they the persons there assembled repudiated the payment of any taxes under the Laws of Kansas, and would use any & all means to keep from the payment of any such taxes to any officer or officers who might attempt to collect such taxes, that any means that was available to repel any such officer should be used to that end. Further than that I do not know about the meeting except that action was taken to carry into effect or rather that the question on adoption was put and I understood that the resolutions were adopted. That is all. I think Mr. Partridge was not present. I do not know. He may have been. I do not remember of seeing him there. I have a faint recollection of seeing one of the Mr Partridges there but which one I do not know,—only a faint recollection. I was present only about 30 minutes. John Brown Jr was present at that meeting. I think Mr John Brown Jr was in the meeting that passed the resolutions mentioned and remained there to the close. There was a kind of squabble or opposition to the resolutions & a kind of a split, but John Brown Jr remained.

I think Alexander Gardiner was also in that meeting. I know nothing about John Brown Jr. being at the head of a rifle company after that, only from report. It was generally understood that John Brown was at the head of a company,—understood so from persons professing to belong to the company on Pottawatomie Creek who recognized him as captain. Do not know what the company was raised for. Knew nothing of such a company until about the time of the meeting at Osawatomie. Next time after seeing him at the above meeting I saw John Brown Jr at Prairie City. I saw Mr Williams, Mr Partridge & Mr Morse part of these prisoners with John Brown Jr at Prairie City. John Brown Jr was in there in command of that company. Only know Mr Williams position in the company from report. At Mr. Jones's at Ottawa Creek on return of the company from Prairie City to Pottawatomie, I was some distance from where the company were paraded, but I there heard Mr Brown tender his resignation as captain to the company. Mr Williams the prisoner was then and there elected captain in place of Brown, and had command of the company as far as my knowledge goes. I separated from them.

I know nothing in relation to a man named Jones being ejected from his claim further than what I heard others say. About 9 A. M. Sunday morning about 20[25]th May last there came a gentleman riding into John Brown Jr's camp,—I was there—this man complained of the treatment that this Jones

had received from Mr Brown or his men. It was some time before he and Mr Brown got into conversation. I think he desired Mr Brown to have Mr Jones to come back,—to use means to that effect. Mr Brown refused thus to do, justified himself at the expulsion of Jones. This was whilst Brown had command of the company. The Sunday before his resignation. Two gentlemen rode down the Santa Fe road after Jones,—they seemed like friends of his,—& were opposed to his being turned off. Mr Brown found considerable fault about those men riding through and wanted them pursued & arrested. This is all that I heard Mr Brown or any of his men say about the matter. Do not know of Brown driving off any other settlers. A saddle was brought into camp but whose it was I do not know. William Partridge was there with the company. Only knew him as a member of the company from report. Mr Williams was then there; I also saw there Simeon B. Morse. Dont know Maness. Never heard of Mr. Benjamin till a few days ago. Dont remember seeing Jason Brown there.

On this same Sunday morning about 20th May there seemed to be considerable confusion in the crowd assembled at Prairie City—it may be Palmyra. The places Palmyra, Prairie City & Hickory Point are near together but distinct localities & settlements. John Brown Jr & others, who they were or whether of other parties than his own or not I cannot say, manifested a disposition to remain there or in that vicinity. The portion of the crowd from Osawatomie manifested a strong disposition to disperse retire & go home. After considerable discussion the whole crowd moved off in a southerly direction from Palmyra. After moving about a mile a column of U. S. troops was discovered coming up the Santa Fe road, apparently going to Palmyra where these men had started from. Brown and the whole crowd moved on to about two miles or $2\frac{1}{2}$ from Palmyra where Brown called a halt. I understood from Mr Brown himself that the officer commanding the troops mentioned had sent for him to come & see him. In the course of half an hour afterwards Brown started in that direction & on his return said he had been to the troops or in consultation with the officer of the troops; that the officer told him he had been sent there to see what was going on and to disperse armed bodies and prevent collisions between parties; and that the officer desired the company under Brown to disperse and retire from that point. I have heard Brown declare that he did not approve or intend to submit to the Territorial laws unless they were sanctioned by the General Government, and conversations to that effect. Never heard Partridge say a word about the Laws that I remember. Have heard Brown speak of the President's Proclamation of January or February last concerning Kansas affairs, that he did not regard it as a document worth paying attention to. Never heard Williams or Partridge say anything about the laws of Kansas or the Proclamation, except that Williams has remarked that he did not consider the Territorial Laws of Kansas just. Never heard Williams use language implying that he intended to resist the Territorial laws by force.

The crowd stayed at Ottawa Jones's on Sunday night and the next morning Monday I saw John Brown Senior there. Did not hear either John Brown Sr or John Brown Jr speak of the murder of Wilkinson & others at Pottawatomie *at that time*. I did not hear Brown Sr speak of the murders at any time. At Osawatomie I got in conversation with John Brown Jr at night and was speaking of the murder of Wilkinson & others. I said to him I thought it

was a very desperate thing, an outrageous act for any one to be guilty of and that I repudiated all such actions & all such men no matter what party they belonged to. John Brown Jr. said he did not repudiate the crime altogether, although he said he could not justify it altogether; that there was an excuse in part for it. I told him I could not abide any such conduct & then I turned away and left him.

CROSS EXAMINED

I live at Osawatomie K. T. 65 or 70 miles from here; never was at his house but suppose I live 9 or 10 miles from John Brown Jr. First saw him I think about 1st March last. I am a House carpenter by trade. I was a member of the Topeka legislature. I know the people about Pottawatomie Creek & Marais des Cygnes pretty generally. After the company had gone I went to Palmyra, arrived at Prairie City or Palmyra Saturday night & left there Sunday morning and joined in the crowd. I was not in command of a company or connected with any organized party there whatever. I was in command of a company got up at Osawatomie in February last or thereabouts for amusement & becoming acquainted with military tactics but not for hostile intentions. This had nothing to do with Brown. I do not know for what J. Brown Jr's Co. assembled precisely. Brown was at Osawatomie two or three days before they started towards Lawrence & said there was a good deal of trouble at Lawrence and that it was desirable for citizens of other parts of the Territory to aid them in resisting what he called outrages against the town. Do not know that Brown had then heard the truth about affairs at Lawrence, —only that he had heard many rumors and that he was going himself and intended to get all to go with him that he could. Understood from him that there were parties from Missouri and elsewhere encamped near Lawrence with the intention of burning the town. Did not hear him say anything that implied a knowledge on his part that the United States Marshal was at Lawrence or that United States troops were there. Understood from Brown that there were armed parties from Missouri & elsewhere assembled and unlawfully arrayed and assembled against Lawrence and he wanted all to go who could. Did not hear him say anything on that occasion about resisting United States or Territorial authorities. He was there only a short time. Next time I saw him was at Palmyra with his company—he paraded them and called them up on parade. He had been to Lawrence the night previous to learn the facts in reference to the difficulties there and reported publicly to his men and all others what he had learned.

After seeing the company of U. S. troops mentioned as coming up the Santa Fe Road the crowd moved on further, Brown having reported the conversation with the officer that the latter had orders to disperse all armed parties & prevent collisions,—the Osawatomie people went home and, I presume Brown's did too,—heard Mr Brown say he would not resist the U. S. officers. Said nothing about the Territorial authorities or any other authorities on that occasion Brown's party left us— Brown gave no instruction to any organized body at that time (Sunday morning) to resist or any operation whatever at that time. I was at Palmyra only a short time and cannot declare the existence of any intention to resist laws by the crowd. Could not judge of their general feelings. The party from Pottawatomie was under control of John Brown Jr. The party from Osawatomie had no organization, only advised with a Mr Dayton.

In vicinity of Osawatomie the general rumors were for several days that Lawrence was being or had been destroyed,—that every house had been burned down, & then heard it disputed. The rumors were greatly exaggerated. Did not hear prior to the dragoons being seen on the Santa Fe road that U. S. authorities were destroying Lawrence. On Sunday morning mentioned I heard the facts of the matter from Mr Brown on his return from Lawrence after the companies had assembled at Palmyra. Brown reported what had been done to Lawrence & who had done it & what the people had suffered &c. There was then confusion & discussion in the crowd. It was near 12 M. when they left Palmyra. Brown advised the men to go home & attend to their work, "but for himself he was going to be in the saddle!" I understood Brown's remarks concerning the proclamation to the effect that it would have no influence upon him or control his future actions at all,—that it would have no bearing on his actions about obeying or disobeying the Laws of Kansas.

William Partridge was in the company. S. B. Morse one of these prisoners was also there. Do not know P. Maness. Dont recollect seeing Jason Brown there, nor Samuel Kilborn. Saw Henry H. Williams there. Dont know Jacob Benjamin.

I heard no expression of intention by any organized body or officer to resist the laws of Kansas whilst at Palmyra. The people from Osawatomie went up to see & learn what was going on at Lawrence. What the people from Pottawatomie went for I do not know precisely further than already stated I know of no acts of violence to persons or property committed by the crowd assembled at Palmyra, of my own knowledge. There was also another party or company besides the Osawatomie & Pottawatomie companies,—one commanded by Brown one by Mr Shores and Mr Dayton was leader of a part of the company from Osawatomie. At the time of moving from Palmyra the companies all agreed to be controlled by John Brown Jr.

DIRECT EXN. RESUMED

John Brown Jr. was a member of the Free Soil Legislature held at Topeka. The same man was in the meetings at Osawatomie. Mr Williams was also a member of that Legislature and was a member of Brown's Co. & was afterwards chosen captain thereof. The affair concerning Mr. Jones and his expulsion was the cause of the "split" between the Osawatomie & Pottawatomie companies. The men mentioned had desired Brown to have Jones recalled & restored, but he justified & approved the act against Jones and the circumstances mentioned about the two men desiring Jones to be recalled as mentioned by me in the early part of my examination took place.

In regard to the occurrences at Lawrence Mr Brown's report to his company & others assembled at Palmyra was to the effect that Lawrence was destroyed by a mob or posse under Sheriff Jones. I do not think in his speech he advised the men to go home. He said the war had now commenced in Kansas and the only way to get out of trouble was to fight out—to conquer or be conquered, the thing was understood & no more compromise could be endured. Williams & Partridge were present. no one made objection or response to Brown's speech— Mr Morse I think was also there. The men were armed and equipped. I know nothing about what had been done at Palmyra or vicinity before the Osawatomie party got there.

[Two words blurred out. Apparently intention was to continue, but desisted.]

[Signed]

J. B. Higgins

[TESTIMONY OF DANIEL W. COLLIS]

Daniel W. Collis sworn. I reside in Osawatomie. I went with the people from Osawatomie as individuals to Hickory Point or Palmyra as mentioned in the evidence of Mr Higgins on this Examination. All I know about the expulsion of Mr Jones was that a Mr. Clayton came riding down on a horse with six chickens & a side saddle which he said a woman gave him. The chickens I cooked & the saddle he took down to the camp. He said Mrs. Jones gave them to him. Did not hear Mr. Brown or either of these prisoners speak about Jones's negroes. We all left Palmyra & got to Ottawa Jones's on Sunday night the side saddle with us. At about 2 miles from Palmyra I first heard of the murder of Wilkinson & others. Just as Brown Jr was going into Pottawatomie Brown Jr remarked concerning the murders that it was not best to talk about them much that it would agitate the minds of the people. I was cooking in the camp—I next saw Mr Brown, after I reached Osawatomie back of Adair's on the Marais des Cygnes bottom in the woods where I had a conversation with him. Mr. Adair said Brown had crossed the creek. I went down to see if he had. After a while on coming back I heard some one talking. I had then come up the bank & on looking across the ravine I saw Mr Brown with a rifle in his hand. He asked me who I was—whether I was a proslavery man? I asked him if he did not know me. He said yes he believed he did. I had ridden a horse down to the bank in company with another man, in whose charge I left the animal while I went to see Brown. About this time the man in whose care I left my horse rode off with the animal. Brown then asked me if the man mentioned was a pro-slavery or free state man. I answered a Free State man. Brown said then "it is all right." He then told me to go to Osawatomie and raise what men I could and go to Lawrence as the road was clear. I told him I could not raise many men. I asked him if his brother was there with him—he said yes, that he was there in the brush with him—that his brother was going right on to Lawrence. Mr Hughes rode up then and I had no more conversation with him at that time. Have had no conversation with Brown at any time concerning the laws nor heard him express his intentions. Before I went to the woods to see him Mr Adair had told me that John Brown Jr was a little deranged—that he was crazy. I went across the ravine then to see his brother—not this one here—John Brown Jr came across to see me. His brother said if I would come on that evening he would wait for me and go through to Lawrence as they had more horses than they had men to mount—this was in the presence of John Brown Jr. This prisoner John Brown Jr was in command of the Pottawatomie Co at Palmyra. Did not know that John Brown Sr had any command under John Brown Jr. Williams, Partridge & Morse were present at the camp as part of Brown's Co. at Palmyra. Dont know, but understood Williams was Lieutenant in the Company. I was not there at the time & consequently do not know what created disturbance or division between the Osawatomie & Pottawatomie men.

CROSS EXAMINED

When I saw Brown in the Bottom as mentioned was two or three days after our return from Palmyra. I thought while I was talking with him that he was in his right mind; but when I saw him in the camp next day I thought he was not. He had been taken prisoner that morning. He seemed excited when I

saw him in the Bottom & wilder than I had ever seen him before. I knew him previously,—had spoken with him several times.

The object of the assembling of the companies was that two or three messengers had come down from Lawrence asking for assistance as Lawrence was to be burned and all Free State people were to be driven out. Understood these things were to be done by a mob from Missouri and a part of Buford's party. It was to prevent the burning of Lawrence that these companies assembled. We had no intention of resisting the laws in any way whatever. I speak of those from Osawatomie. At Palmyra for a time all three of the camps were subject to John Brown Jr's orders. I knew of no insurrectional object then existing in the camp as thus combined—nor in any of the companies separately before or afterwards. I think I knew the designs & intentions of the several companies.

[Signed] D. W. Collis

[TESTIMONY OF HARVEY JACKSON]

Harvey Jackson sworn. I was at the camp at Palmyra. reside near Osawatomie. We got to Palmyra after dark Saturday night. I went to sleep. In the morning I found John Brown Jr in our camp. This was Sunday morning. Concerning the difficulties at Lawrence Brown made a speech to the camp saying that the difficulties—the Free State Hotel and other property at Lawrence had been destroyed by a posse that Sheriff Jones had dismissed in the town. He advised the members of the companies in that speech to return home & go to work, that the U. S. authorities were in Lawrence or about Lawrence & intended to keep off collisions between the different parties. Mr Brown was then in command of the Pottawatomie Co.

On Sunday morning I understood a man named Jones had passed through the camp who was fleeing the Territory on his return to Missouri. There was some difficulty & conversation concerning calling Jones back &c. A gentleman residing in Palmyra had sent a messenger after Jones to tell him to come back. Mr Brown learned this and objected to it & wanted the man to send a messenger to countermand the first one, but to let Jones pass on. Brown was unwilling to have Jones come back. Dont know whether Williams, Partridge & Morse were present & heard Brown's conversation, but they were present in the camp at the time. Dont know Williams's position in the Company. Williams was with the Company at Ottawa Jones's, and was there elected Captain of the Pottawatomie men. I saw William Partridge the prisoner in Brown's Company at Palmyra. I do not remember of hearing John Brown Jr express any opinion or say anything about the murders of Wilkinson & others when we heard of them. After arriving at Ottawa Jones's Mr Williams had command of the Pottawatomie Co. I saw Mr Morse the prisoner in Palmyra camp. I understand John Brown Jr. Mr Williams, Mr Partridge and Mr Morse to be citizens of the United States. Never heard Brown or either of the others say any thing about abiding by the laws.

CROSS EXAMINED

I went up with some of the citizens from Osawatomie to Palmyra, found Brown & his company and another company there. As to the intentions of the companies in going there I cannot answer except in regard to myself & those that went with me from Osawatomie. The general understanding of the men in gathering there was that Lawrence and vicinity was threatened with

an invasion by men from Missouri & other places. We were going up to assist the people of Lawrence in protecting themselves against mob violence. It was my understanding that the camp generally was assembled at Palmyra for that purpose. I cannot say that I know of any expression in the companies of an intention to resist the laws. I saw the U. S. troops mentioned by Higgins. We moved on a mile & a half or two miles after we saw said troops, when we came to a halt. I then learned that Capt John Brown Jr had received a message from the Captain of the troops who wished to see Brown. Brown soon started & on his return reported an interview he had had with the commander that the officer desired a disbandment of the armed companies. The companies started immediately for home. We went until we got within 7 or 8 miles of Osawatomie when the Pottawatomie Co left us. John Brown Jr's family was then at Mr Adairs near Osawatomie. Brown went with us toward Osawatomie. I went with the company to within 2½ miles of the town when I left them. I did not see him again until 2 hours after dark that evening. As to disbanding I cannot speak concerning the intentions of the Pottawatomie Co. Our Osawatomie Co. considered it a breaking up & we disbanded.

DIRECT RESUMED

I judged of the feeling in the other camps about protecting Lawrence from mob violence from the expressions of the men in the other camps besides our own. The dispatches first mentioned about free state men being driven off, were recd,—one I believe from Mr Brown, and two from other persons whom I do not recollect. On arriving at Palmyra I could not learn of any Free State men having been driven away as represented in Brown's dispatch. I now correct the language above to this effect I do not remember positively that any of the dispatches represented that Free State men had been driven off, but that there were troubles threatened there and in that vicinity. These three companies numbered a hundred men or more all armed.

CROSS EXD. RESUMED

I heard no particulars of affairs at Lawrence until Mr Brown gave his explanation on Sunday morning. In two or three hours after that we started southward. The state of affairs at Lawrence was found not to be as bad as had been represented before. I understood from him there had been a posse taken in there by Sheriff Jones to make some arrests & after he was through with the posse he dismissed them in the town & that these outrages were committed by the men after they were dismissed. [Signed] H. Jackson

Joseph B. Higgins recalled. (A set of resolutions offered in evidence and hereunto attached marked A received and read by Prosecuting Attorney.) So far as these resolutions are concerned they are, I think, word for word with those passed at the meeting mentioned by me in my examination in chief. They are to the same effect certainly. As to the Preamble I do not recollect precisely. [Signed] J. B. Higgins

[In the interest of continuity, the resolutions mentioned above as Appendix A are inserted here. These are the same resolutions that were printed in the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, May 5, 1856, and in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 17, 1856.]

At a meeting of the settlers of Osawatomie and vicinity held at Osawatomie April 16th 1856 the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

WHEREAS several invasions from the Border State have been made into this Territory to subjugate it, and make it subservient to Slavery, and whereas said invasions were made for, and resulted in, the prostration of our civil and political rights and the entire pollution of the Ballot Box, and foisted upon us a set of pretended and tyranical Legislators who unlawfully assembled at the "Shawnee Mission" on the Indian Reservation and there attempted to impose upon the settlers cruel and tyranical laws, and appointed officers contrary to the fundamental principles of our Government for the term of six years; and whereas we are credibly informed that attempts have been made and are still being made to assess and collect taxes of us by men appointed for this purpose by the Territorial Legislature so called. Therefore

RESOLVED—That we utterly repudiate the authority of that Legislature, as a body emanating not from the People of Kansas; but, elected and forced upon us by a foreign vote, and that the officers appointed by the same have therefore no legal power to act.

RESOLVED—That we pledge to one another mutual aid and support in a forcible resistance to any attempt to compel us into obedience to those enactments, let that attempt come from whatever source it may; and that if men appointed by that Legislature to the office of Assessor or Sheriff shall hereafter attempt to assess or collect taxes of us they will do so at the peril of such consequences as shall be necessary to prevent the same.

RESOLVED—That a committee of three be appointed to inform such officers of the action of this meeting by placing in their hands a copy of these Resolutions.

RESOLVED—That a Copy of these resolutions with the proceedings of this meeting be furnished to the several newspapers of Kansas with a request to publish the same.

Here the Prosecution rests—

Defendants decline calling any witnesses—

The Prosecuting Attorney declares that he no further prosecutes against either of the prisoners except John Brown Jr, Mr Williams Mr Partridge & Mr Morse.

Counsel heard pro and con.

Ordered that the prisoners John Brown Jr and Henry H. Williams be held to answer any Indictment that may be preferred against them on the charge aforesaid, &c.

Mittimus for John Brown Jr & Henry H. Williams issued & delivered to U. S. Marshal.

I, Edward Hoogland do hereby certify that the above is a correct statement and account of an examination taken by & before me as above stated and of the testimony of the several witnesses produced sworn and examined thereupon—and that the paper hereunto annexed mark "A" is the one referred to in the foregoing Depositions. Given under my hand at Tecumseh K. T. June 20th 1856.

[Signed] Edwd. Hoogland, U. S. Commr.

Supplying the Frontier Military Posts

RAYMOND L. WELTY

THE efficiency of the frontier army which averaged about 20,000 men in the period 1855-1875 depended on the food, clothing, ammunition, forage, shelter, livestock and other supplies furnished by the government. The frontier military post, usually at some distance from the settled areas, was almost solely dependent upon supplies brought from a great distance. Gen. W. T. Sherman reported in 1869:

If the army could be concentrated and quartered in the region of supplies, the expenses could be kept down to a comparatively small sum; or if we had, as in former years, a single line of frontier a little in advance of the settlements, the same or similar would be the result; but now, from the nature of the case, our troops are scattered by companies to posts in the most inhospitable parts of the continent, to which every article of food, forage, clothing, ammunition, &c., must be hauled in wagons hundreds of miles at great cost. For the same reason this department [quartermaster] is heavily taxed by the cost of fuel and materials for making huts, sometimes at a distance of one or two hundred miles from a place where a growing twig as large as a walking stick can be found.

While the pay and allowances of a soldier remain the same in all parts of the country, the cost of his maintenance in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska, is two and three times as great as on the Kansas and Nebraska frontier.¹

The military stores were usually purchased from the large markets. Clothing, blankets and other quartermaster supplies were purchased in the East, or on the Pacific coast, and then were shipped to the numerous depots and posts. Large quantities of grain, hay, lumber, wood and commissary supplies were bought from the local markets near the posts, if they could be procured more economically.²

Many military authorities agreed with Gen. John Pope who condemned the practice of making contracts for military stores at a great distance from the posts to be supplied. The objections to this method were that the officers in charge of letting the contract were totally unacquainted, in many cases, with the resources, people, manner of doing business, prices, or anything else in the districts to be supplied, and were without experience or knowledge of the peculiar service on the frontier. All these factors resulted in unneces-

1. *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1869, v. I, pp. 30-31.

2. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 4.

sary and additional expense, and the needs of the service were not satisfactorily met.³

Several depots were established on the frontier from which its dependent military posts were supplied. Fort Leavenworth was the great supply depot for the posts on the Plains and along the Missouri river.⁴

Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river and San Francisco served a similar function for the posts in their respective regions. The posts in the territory of Arizona, as a rule, received their supplies from San Francisco. In addition to the great supply depots there were minor depots located on the important routes of communication, as Fort Union in the territory of New Mexico, Cheyenne, Denver and Walla Walla.⁵ These depots supplied the nearby posts with the necessary military stores. It was necessary to keep large stocks on hand so that in case of delay in shipments, campaigns or expeditions need not be postponed.⁶

The vast majority of the army stores were transported by contractors to the various depots established on the great routes of overland travel. These contractors or freighting companies were the merchants of the overland trade.⁷ The freighting companies carried on a great amount of business, not only by carrying government freight, but also private freight. The Russell, Majors & Waddell company at one time had 6,250 wagons and 75,000 oxen engaged in freighting.⁸ The height of the freighting business on the Plains was from 1863 to 1866. Between May and November, 1864, sixty-three million pounds of freight were carried over the Plains and in 1865 about two hundred twenty-four million pounds.⁹ This freight was carried in large strongly built wagons capable of carrying three or four tons over rough roads. The "J. Murphy wagons" were commonly used. The large room-like wagon boxes were covered with two heavy canvas sheets to protect the merchandise from the rain. Each wagon was drawn by several yoke of oxen in charge of one driver. Twenty-five wagons made a train and were in charge of a wagon master and

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

4. *House Executive Documents*, No. 45, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 8-9.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-48; *ibid.*, No. 20, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 3-4, 11; Secretary of War, *Report*, 1869, v. I, p. 442.

6. For an illustration see *ibid.*, 1867, v. I, p. 60.

7. *Ibid.*, 1865, v. I, p. 112.

8. Paxson, Frederic L., *The Last American Frontier* (New York, 1910), pp. 190-191, quoting Frank A. Root's *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901), p. 308; Lummis, Charles F., "Pioneer Transportation in America," *McClure's Magazine*, v. XXVI (October, 1905), p. 85.

9. Report of Lt. Col. J. H. Simpson in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1865, p. 885; Fite, Emerson David, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War* (New York, 1910), pp. 36-39.

an assistant. At night the wagons were arranged in a rough circle to form a corral for the stock, which prevented it from being stolen by raiding Indians, and also made a rude fortress in case of an Indian attack.¹⁰

The quartermaster department of the army made all the contracts for transportation. Bids were received for the transportation of 100 pounds of goods over a certain route at a certain rate per 100 miles. The transportation of supplies from the army depots to many of the larger and more permanent posts was more economical and satisfactory when done by contractors than by the use of military trains.¹¹ The contractors generally used ox teams on the Plains because there was less danger of stampedes from thieving Indians (for the Indians did not care for oxen), and the oxen were better able to subsist on grass alone than mules or horses.

To illustrate the vast amount of transportation required for the army on the frontier a few statistics will be of interest. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, the cost for the transportation of supplies to the posts along the Overland trail to Utah, the territory of New Mexico and on the Santa Fé trail was \$6,187,526 by contract, and the cost by government trains \$201,300, making a total of \$6,388,856.¹² In 1866 the rates for transportation per 100 pounds per 100 miles ranged from \$1.38 for Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico posts to \$1.79 for posts in the territory of Arizona and western Texas. The amount transported was 40,774 tons at a cost of \$3,314,495.¹³

The rates for wagon transportation between the years 1867 to 1870 ranged from \$1 to \$4 per 100 pounds per 100 miles. The difference in the rates varied according to the time of year, the distance the stores had to be transported, the route, and the quantity. The volume of stores transported and the cost for the transportation were 22,645 tons in 1868 at a cost of \$2,530,591; 27,316 tons of freight and 3,839 persons in 1869 at a cost of \$1,673,508; and in 1870, freight to the amount of 19,441 tons and 1,934 persons were transported at a cost of \$1,036,803.¹⁴

The completion of the Pacific railroads in 1868 diminished the cost of wagon transportation. The posts north and south of the

10. For descriptions of overland freight trains see Majors, Alexander, *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Denver, 1893), pp. 102-105; Inman and Cody, *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (New York, 1898), pp. 388-389.

11. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1866, appendix, pp. 57-58.

12. *Ibid.*, 1865, v. I, pp. 113-114.

13. *Ibid.*, 1866, "Report of Quartermaster General," pp. 57-58.

14. *Ibid.*, 1867, v. I, pp. 533-534; *ibid.*, 1868, v. I, p. 830; *ibid.*, 1869, v. I, p. 216; *ibid.*, 1870, p. 152.

railroads were supplied by wagons on the trails leading from the nearest stations. But the cost of transportation in the territory of Arizona was enormous. In 1869, because of the expense of transportation, a barrel of flour bought in San Francisco for \$5 was worth \$25 at Camp Goodwin in the territory of Arizona. The cost of feeding one soldier in that territory was five times as much as in San Francisco. The army of 2,100 troops, with their 3,300 horses and mules, in the territory of Arizona in one year cost the government \$3,000,000.¹⁵

The principal posts maintained military trains to meet emergencies such as the failure of the contractor to fulfill his contract, and to accompany marching bodies of troops.¹⁶ In the mountain regions, especially in Arizona, owing to the lack of facilities by contractors and the great cost of transportation over the mountainous trails, the army used their own trains in transporting supplies to many of their outlying posts.¹⁷

The amount of goods carried by the government trains from the railroads or centers of supply to depots far out on the frontier was comparatively small. During the fiscal year ending 1865, the military trains transported about three percent of all the military stores at a cost of \$201,330 compared to \$6,187,526 for private companies.¹⁸

The army used mules instead of oxen for its trains. The number of mules to a wagon was either four or six. The driver rode the near-wheel mule and guided the six mules with a single jerk line which divided over the shoulders of the lead or pilot mule and fastened to the bit on either side of his mouth. The leaders were separated by a jockey stick about five feet long. One jerk of the line caused the pilot to turn to the left, pulling his mate with him and guiding the teams behind; two jerks meant to the right and the pilot mule pushed his mate accordingly. The mules soon became trained and the ponderous wagon and its six mules were easily guided. "The most spirited mules," wrote Mrs. Elizabeth Custer, "are selected from the train for leaders. They cannot be reached by the whip, and the driver must rely upon the emphasis he puts into his voice to incite them to effort."¹⁹

The teamsters were commonly civilians, sometimes Mexicans, but usually frontiersmen. They received a definite wage; about a dollar

15. *Ibid.*, 1869, v. I, p. 124.

16. *Ibid.*, 1866, "Report of the Quartermaster General," p. 57. Custer had 800 six-mule wagons in his military train for the campaign of 1868-1869.—Lummis, *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

17. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1866, "Report of the Quartermaster General," p. 58.

18. *Ibid.*, 1865, v. I, pp. 113-114. For descriptions of army wagon trains see Custer, Elizabeth B., *Tenting on the Plains* (New York, 1903), pp. 223-227.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

a day and board was customary. If enlisted men were detailed as teamsters they received twenty cents per day extra pay. As a rule the quartermaster department preferred the civilian teamster, as he knew the work better and took better care of the mules and equipment, so that there was less apt to be extra cost for breakage and delay. The soldier seldom enlisted to be a teamster, and if forced to be one his dissatisfaction resulted in inefficient work, and also tempted him to desert and sell the government property in his charge. The mules would furnish the deserter means of transportation for escaping.²⁰

The drivers or teamsters usually took great pride in their mules and decorated their bridles with fox or small coyote tails and other marks of distinction that they could afford. The mules' tails were clipped and shaved in accordance to all the rules of mule-dudeism.²¹ Mrs. Custer makes the following comment on the army mule teams and their drivers:

The old reliability of a mule-team is the off-wheeler. It is his leathery sides that can be most readily reached by the whip called a "black-snake," and when the descent is made into a stream with muddy bed, the cut is given to this faithful beast, and on his powerful muscles depends the wrench that jerks the old schooner out of a slough. The nigh or saddle mule does his part in such an emergency, but he soon reasons that, because he carries the driver, not much more is expected of him.²²

But sometimes the off-wheeler failed, and then:

The soldiers may be directed to "man the wheels," and after fifty are tugging at the ropes that are fastened to the axles, calling out "Heave ho!" as sailors do at each new struggle, the teamster's voice rises above all in invectives that are startling to every one except the mules.²³

The stage was used by the army for the transportation of persons, mail, and to a slight degree in times of emergency for munitions or other absolutely necessary articles. In 1870 only 820 persons and fifty-six tons of freight were carried by stage, at a cost of \$49,192.²⁴ In 1868 the quartermaster general reported that \$33,110 had been paid for the transportation of 919 troops by stages during the fiscal year.²⁵

Pack-mules were used to a considerable extent in the mountainous regions. They could accompany the troops on scouts and expedi-

20. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1868, pp. 61-62.

21. Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, pp. 224-225.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

23. Custer, Elizabeth B., *Following the Guidon* (New York, 1890), p. 78.

24. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, p. 152.

25. *Ibid.*, 1868, v. I, p. 830.

tions where it was almost impossible for wagons to go because of the lack of good trails. To wage war successfully against the Indians the troops had to adopt many of the methods and ways of the savage. Rapid transportation was one of the essentials for effective service. The pack-mules were only used for such work, and never for the transportation of supplies to the depots or regular posts. The troops were not so skillful as the Mexicans in managing pack trains, with the result that many animals were ruined because of sore backs.²⁶

The Missouri, the Columbia and the Colorado rivers were used for transporting military stores to the army posts. The posts along the Missouri were supplied by steamboat, and many of the interior posts received their stores from the posts along the Missouri river.²⁷ The Columbia river afforded assistance in transporting goods to the inland posts of Oregon and the territory of Idaho. The development of steamboating on the Columbia reduced the cost as well as the time in moving stores to the posts on the tributaries of that river.²⁸ The lower Colorado river was used as an approach to the Arizona posts and also to supply Fort Yuma and Fort Mojave directly.²⁹

The completion of the Union Pacific, the Kansas Pacific and the Central Pacific railroads furnished an artery for transporting military supplies through the heart of the Indian country. By 1870 it was easier to transport supplies to the most remote point in the territory of New Mexico than it had been to Fort Union in that territory before the construction of the Pacific railroads.³⁰

The Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific railroads, between June 30, 1867, and September 30, 1868, transported for the War Department 36,347 tons of munitions and 13,810 persons for \$1,601,931.³¹ In 1869 the Pacific railroads transported for the War Department 28,738 tons of material and 18,536 persons at a cost of \$933,166.³² In 1870, 17,472 tons of supplies and 13,642 persons were carried by these railroads for \$882,235.³³ The rates over these railroads were

26. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 152.

27. Welty, R. L., "The Frontier Army on the Missouri River," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. II, pp. 85-99.

28. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1866, "Report of Quartermaster General," p. 58.

29. Summerhayes, Martha, *Vanished Arizona* (Philadelphia, 1908), *passim*. Gives an account of the Arizona posts in the 1870's.

30. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, p. 17.

31. *Ibid.*, 1868, v. I, p. 810.

32. *Ibid.*, 1869, v. I, p. 212.

33. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 151.

about twice as high as over the railroads east of the Mississippi river.³⁴

The establishment of a military post in a region created a market for grains, horses, mules and cattle. The result was, if the Indian danger was not too great and suitable lands could be obtained, that small settlements of farmers and ranchers would spring up, depending upon the post for a market. Some settlers near the military posts desired Indian wars because the military authorities would need supplies in abundance which would create a market for their products.³⁵

An illustration of the military posts supporting the surrounding settlements was the case of Fort Stanton in the territory of New Mexico. The post was established in 1855 to protect the Rio Grande settlements and to encourage large settlements near it. Neither purpose was fulfilled, for the post was too far away for this protection and only about 1,200 people settled near the post. The distance from other markets made the fort the sole market for the settlers. General Pope in his report for 1870 makes the following comment on this situation:

So far from being self-sustaining, the settlers could sell nothing except to the post, and if it goes they must go also, and that entirely irrespective of Indians.

Whether it be the purpose of the government to keep up a large post in so remote a place and at such enormous expense for such a purpose I do not know, but, speaking in a military view, Fort Stanton is wholly unnecessary. There were no settlers when the post was established, and the few now there must have gone at their own risk and with full knowledge, from all experience, that the post was, of necessity, temporary. They exist now merely by trade with the post, and it seems rather absurd that a military post, once established, must be forever kept up for the protection of a few settlers who live by trading with it. The removal of the garrison, however, (as, indeed, of any other,) will occasion loud outcry and endless petitions and representations. Once establish a post and it seems nearly impossible, without infinite clamor and objection, ever to remove it.³⁶

The military authorities encouraged the opening of farms and ranches near the posts. These ranches and farms supplied cattle and grain—and what was more desirable, fresh vegetables. But as in the illustration given above, the post often became the sole support of the settlers and the only reason for its existence. The numerous posts in Arizona were to a large extent in this situation. According to Gen. E. O. C. Ord, the only paying business in that territory in

34. *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 26, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1.

35. See letter of General Sherman in *ibid.*, No. 13, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 3-4.

36. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, pp. 15-16.

the late 1860's was supplying the troops. If the paymasters and quartermasters had stopped their payments the great majority of the white settlers would have been compelled to leave. In this territory active operations were largely carried on to protect the inhabitants who were there because of the army.³⁷

The soldier's usefulness depended to a large degree upon his health. The free open life of the army tended to take care of his physical condition if his food was wholesome. Under the best conditions the rationing of an army is a difficult problem and it increases in proportion to the distance the troops are stationed away from sources of supply.

The subsisting of the army was under the general control of the commissary department. It was the duty of this department to purchase the subsistence stores. The principal articles of the ration of the soldiers were pork, bacon, beef, flour, beans, and other articles of farm produce. These were purchased by the commissary as near the points of consumption as possible, which not only secured fresher supplies and lessened the expense of transportation, but also built up frontier farming, trade and even manufacturing.³⁸

The army ration is the established daily allowance of food for one person. The ration was fixed by the army regulations as follows:

Twelve ounces of pork or bacon, or canned beef (fresh or corned), or one pound and four ounces of fresh beef, or twenty-two ounces of salt beef; eighteen ounces of soft bread or flour, or sixteen ounces of hard bread, or one pound and four ounces of corn meal; and to have, every one hundred rations, fifteen pounds of pease or beans, or ten pounds of rice or hominy; ten pounds of green coffee, or eight of roasted (or roasted and ground) coffee, or two pounds of tea; fifteen pounds of sugar, four quarts of vinegar; four pounds of soap; four pounds of salt; four ounces of pepper; one pound and eight ounces of adamantine or star candles; and to troops in the field, when necessary, four pounds of yeast powder to one hundred rations of flour.³⁹

This ration was so large that if the food was wholesome and supplied in full the soldier fared very well.⁴⁰ In many cases in the permanent posts the companies were more than able to maintain their mess on the rations issued. The surplus was used to purchase extra articles for their mess, or applied to the company fund to be expended for the benefit of the company.

However, in the frontier posts the common ration was salt pork,

37. *Ibid.*, 1869, v. I, pp. 124-126.

38. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 265.

39. Custer, *Following the Guidon*, p. 205; Cf. *Revised Regulations For the Army of the United States*, 1861 (Philadelphia, 1861), p. 243.

40. Custer, *Following the Guidon*, p. 230.

beans, hard bread and coffee. Fortunately, at most of the posts the soldier obtained a salutary change from his ration of salt pork to fresh meat by means of the chase.⁴¹

The commissary department tried to obtain its supplies near the points of consumption. This was almost impossible. Horace Greeley wrote that in 1859 he saw only 500 acres of land cultivated (and that was by Mormons near Fort Bridger, territory of Utah), between the forks of the Platte river on the east, Salt Lake basin on the west, New Mexico settlements on the south, and the Yellowstone river on the north. Yet in the radius, he wrote:

are included several military posts at which every bushel of grain consumed costs an average of \$5, while potatoes and other edible roots would command nearly as good prices, could they be had. There are herdsmen at intervals throughout all this region who have each their hundreds of heads of cattle, but who hardly know the taste of a potato or turnip, who have never planted nor sowed an acre, and never contemplated the possibility of growing an apple or cherry, though they expect to live and die in this region. I trust, therefore, that the Fort Bridger enterprise will succeed, and that it will incite to like experiments in the vicinity of each wilderness post. The present enormous cost of our military service in this immense desert may thus be slightly compensated by proving the great desert not absolutely worthless, and creating a basis of civilization for its rude, nomadic, lawless, but hardy, bold and energetic pioneers.⁴²

The condition reported by Greeley had been changed by 1868. These regions were supplying the army posts to a large degree. The depot for subsistence at Cheyenne which supplied Forts D. A. Russell, Fetterman, and Laramie with fresh vegetables secured them from the farmers in the territory of Colorado. Four hundred fifty thousand pounds of fresh vegetables were contracted for at Cheyenne at the following prices per pound: Onions 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents, potatoes 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents, beets 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents, and turnips 2 cents.⁴³

The common method, and in fact the only practical method, for supplying fresh beef to the army posts on the frontier was to purchase cattle on the hoof and graze and feed them at the posts, killing them for beef when needed.⁴⁴ The staple subsistence stores, however, were largely purchased in the large market cities such as St. Paul, Chicago, San Francisco, St. Louis and New Orleans. The average cost for a completed ration for the years of 1867, 1868 and

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205, 241-246.

42. Greeley, Horace, *An Overland Journey From New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York, 1860), p. 199.

43. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1868, v. I, pp. 966, 971. For a description of desiccated vegetables which were used in the army see Ostrander, Olsen B., *An Army Boy of the Sixties* (New York, 1924), p. 150.

44. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1860, p. 237.

1869 was about 23 cents in currency.⁴⁵ This cost did not include the expense of transportation which in many cases increased the cost of a ration delivered at the place of consumption several times the original price.

However, the expense for subsistence was a comparatively small item in the expense of the army on the frontier. To illustrate: During the years 1864 and 1865 the government expended \$30,-530,942 to suppress the Indian hostilities on the Plains. Of this amount the sum of \$515,248.20 was spent by the subsistence department, while the paymaster department spent \$1,641,466.73 and the quartermaster department \$28,374,228.⁴⁶ In the case of the posts in the territories of Arizona and New Mexico for the years 1865, 1866 and 1867 the total expenditures for subsistence was about \$1,-900,000, in comparison to over \$12,500,000 for the other expenses of the army.⁴⁷

Although the quantity of subsistence supplied the army was sufficient its quality was too often below standard. Mrs. Custer wrote:

None of the posts at that time [1867] were provided with decent food—that is, none beyond the railroad. . . . The bacon issued to the soldiers was not only rancid, but was supplied by dishonest contractors, who slipped in any foreign substance they could, to make the weight come up to the required amount; and thus the soldiers were cheated out of the quantity due them, as well as imposed upon in the quality of rations. . . . [I] saw a flat stone, the size of the slices of bacon as they were packed together, sandwiched between the layers. . . . The supplies provided for the consumption of those troops operating in the field or stationed at the posts had been sent out during the war [Civil War]. It was then 1867, and they had lain in the poor, ill-protected adobe or dug-out storehouse all the intervening time—more than two years. At Forts Wallace and Hays there were no storehouses, and the flour and bacon were only protected by tarpaulins. Both became rancid and moldy, and were at the mercy of the rats and mice.⁴⁸

However, later some improvements were made in the quality and the variety of the rations. An opportunity was also provided for the sale of additional articles of food not included in the ration. General Sherman in 1869 very optimistically reported that the army was supplied with good healthful food and—

at all the posts are kept supplies of articles not embraced in the ration, for sale to the companies and the officers' families at a price sufficient to reimburse the department. This obviates the necessity for sutlers, which are now

45. *Ibid.*, 1867, v. I, pp. 576-577; *ibid.*, 1868, pp. 959-961; *ibid.*, 1869, p. 410.

46. *House Executive Documents*, No. 5, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1.

47. *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 74, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1-2.

48. Custer, *Tenting on the Plains*, pp. 393-394; Cf. Ostrander, *An Army Boy of the Sixties*, pp. 134-135.

prohibited by law, except as mere traders, having no lien whatever on the soldier's pay.⁴⁹

These issues were made to the troops by line officers, who were styled acting commissaries of subsistence and received an extra \$20 per month less the value of a ration.⁵⁰ Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commanding the Department of California, reported in 1869 that the additional comforts of better quarters and especially the improvement of the soldiers' rations by the addition of fresh vegetables and canned fruits and vegetables had reduced the desertions in his department over seventy-five percent.⁵¹

Whatever the extent of improvement, there still remained many defects in the army commissary. In the 1870's Mrs. Martha Summerhayes found that commissary supplies were not up to standard. She relates the following effort at reform:

I had a glass jar of butter sent over from the commissary, and asked Colonel Biddle [a visiting inspector] if he thought it right that such butter as that should be bought by the purchasing officer in San Francisco. It had melted, and separated into layers of dead white, deep orange and pinkish-purple colors. Thus, I too, as well as General Miles, had my turn at trying to reform the commissary department of Uncle Sam's army.⁵²

Mrs. Summerhayes does not relate whether pink butter continued to be a staple article at the commissary, but she at least intimated that the commissary department was only subject to reform but not reformed.

Probably the most dreaded attack upon the health of the soldier in the frontier post was scurvy. Improper nourishment during the winter months was common at posts which were hundreds of miles away from civilization. The salt pork diet, with no vegetables, during the long winter months at the northern posts usually took its toll before summer. At Fort Lyon in the territory of Colorado the entire garrison, officers and men, on March 20, 1864, were affected with scurvy. Camp Fillmore in the same territory was also reported in a similar condition.⁵³ To combat this disease fresh vegetables and fruits were necessary.

It was almost impossible, even at almost exorbitant prices, to secure a dependable supply of vegetables at many posts from the settlements hundreds of miles away. Because of this condition the military authorities encouraged the growing of vegetables near

49. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1869, v. I, p. 31.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

52. Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona*, p. 206.

53. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, v. XXXIV, Pt. II, pp. 670-671.

the post. Sometimes settlers would move into the vicinity but this often was impossible either because of Indian hostilities or the undesirability of the locality compared to other regions open to settlement. Another way to secure a supply was by post or company gardens. The company gardens served two purposes: First, they furnished a supply of fresh vegetables for the soldiers, which enriched their rations, and, second, the surplus could be sold and the money added to the company's mess fund.

Gen. George A. Forsyth in describing the company and post gardens wrote:

These are generally under the supervision of the post adjutant or the regimental commissary. They are located at some accessible point near the post, and each company commander details one man as company gardener, who is relieved from post guard duty while acting in that capacity. From the post fund seeds of all kinds that will mature in that locality are purchased, and in due season peas, beans, lettuce, tomatoes, onions, beets, cucumbers, cabbages, radishes, and melons are produced in abundance. Occasionally post gardens have an oversupply of fresh vegetables, which are sold and the proceeds added to the company fund.⁵⁴

General Forsyth's description of the post gardens is too optimistic for the years 1860 to 1870. Gen. Alfred Sully planted large gardens at Fort Rice, in the territory of Dakota, in 1865. He hoped to raise enough potatoes and other vegetables for his troops to prevent scurvy that winter, but grasshoppers came and destroyed everything.⁵⁵

Fort Sumner was the only post in the territory of New Mexico, in 1867, to cultivate gardens. The staff and company gardens, which covered twelve acres, were irrigated. Melons, squashes, pumpkins, beets, carrots and radishes were the best crops. Some of the gardens of one acre produced from \$200 to \$300 worth of vegetables. However, the large farm at the Bosque Redondo for the Navajo Indians, near Fort Sumner, which was under the control of the army, was a failure because of the dryness of the season and the alleged strong alkaline properties of the soil and water.⁵⁶

Gen. C. C. Augur, of the Department of the Platte, reported in 1868 that gardens at the posts in his department were only partially successful. The Indian depredations required the use of the troops when the gardens should have been planted. Because of the troops changing their stations they lost interest in the gardens. Grasshoppers also destroyed the early gardens at several of the posts.

54. Forsyth, George A., *The Soldier* (New York, 1908), pp. 97-98.

55. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, pp. 204-205.

56. *House Executive Documents*, No. 248, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 2-8.

Even under such difficulties the gardens at Camp Douglas, near Salt Lake, produced 1,700 bushels of potatoes and thirty-five bushels of peas, and those at Fort Sanders, territory of Wyoming, 250 bushels of potatoes and large quantities of turnips, beets and other vegetables.⁵⁷

Of the many duties of the quartermaster department of the army the purchase of all military supplies, except commissary and ordnance stores, was very important. These supplies included clothing, camp and garrison equipage, fuel, horses, forage, wagons, harness, tools and all other articles needed in the army. This department built or let the contracts for the construction of all buildings and transported all the military stores of every description used in the army. It also purchased the animals and equipment for all military trains. In other words the quartermaster furnished the supplies from the clothing on the enlisted soldier, to the flag on the flagstaff, or from the kettles in the mess kitchen to the mowing machines used for cutting the hay for the post.

With such a vast amount and variety of work in this department there no doubt were many mistakes because of the lack of experience or information on the part of many quartermaster officers. But in addition there must have been an enormous amount of grafting and corruption. This phase cannot be gone into in detail and it suffices at this place to state that the low morale of the public service during and after the Civil War was as conspicuous on the frontier as in any part of the country, and was as well rooted in the quartermaster department as in any public service. General Babcock reported in 1866 that General Dodge claimed most of the difficulties with his command on the Plains arose from the independent position of the staff departments, particularly the quartermaster department, and after his inspection he thought the statement was well founded.⁵⁸

The importance of the quartermaster department is shown by the amount of money expended by it on the frontier. In 1864 and 1865, in suppressing the Indian hostilities, \$28,374,328 out of the \$30,500-942 of the total expenses were spent by the quartermaster department.⁵⁹ This was an extraordinary proportion and has all the signs of graft. An inspection in 1866 showed that at Fort Sedgwick alone there were enough rations, transported there the year before, to last the garrison twelve years, and the grain for the animals (which had

57. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1868, v. I, pp. 23, 972.

58. *House Executive Documents*, No. 20, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 2; Cf. Stanley, Henry M., *My Early Travels and Adventures* (New York, 1895), v. I, p. 84.

59. *House Executive Documents*, No. 5, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1-2.

cost \$2.60 a bushel more than it could have been bought at that time) was enough to last fifteen months.⁶⁰ A more moderate illustration would be the expenses in the territory of New Mexico for the army for the years 1865, 1866, and 1867. The quartermaster department expended \$8,122,610 in comparison to \$3,338,798 expended by the other departments.⁶¹

The army on the frontier was, during the first few years of this decade, armed with muzzle-loading arms, but later they were armed with breech-loading arms. The Springfield rifle muskets were converted into breech loaders, and by 1867 nearly all the infantry troops serving in the departments of the Platte and the Missouri were armed with them.⁶² Gen. P. St. George Cooke, of the Department of the Platte, reported in 1866 that a cattle guard had refused to fire on attacking Indians because their guns were muzzle-loading arms, and if they fired a volley they would be at the mercy of the Indians, who had revolvers and better rifles than the soldiers. Even the cavalry were without revolvers. He also reported that breech-loading arms were a necessity in fighting the Indians.⁶³ The troops for frontier service should have been mounted and armed with repeating rifles without bayonets. It was also a difficult problem in 1866 to furnish the troops the proper ammunition, for the arms used were not all of the same caliber.⁶⁴

The fuel used by the frontier posts was wood, which was cut, usually, by the soldiers at the posts if an available source of supply was near.⁶⁵ However, at many posts contracts were let for cord wood. Sherman in 1866 found that in 1865 the wood for fuel at Fort Sedgwick in the territory of Nebraska had cost \$111 per cord delivered and that even for 1867 the contract called for \$46 per cord. The reason for the extremely high price was that everything at that post except sand and water had to be hauled from 100 to 400 miles.⁶⁶ In 1870 there were issued in the entire army 125,762 cords of wood and 27,118 tons of coal.⁶⁷

The soldier on the frontier, to be effective, needed to be mounted. Because of this many of the infantry companies were mounted. In addition to horses for mounting troops a large number of mules were

60. *Ibid.*, No. 45, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 32. Wood was bought at this post for \$109 a cord.—*Cf. ibid.*, No. 20, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 2.

61. *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 74, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1-2.

62. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1867, v. I, p. 609.

63. *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 13, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 29-30.

64. *House Executive Documents*, No. 20, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 14.

65. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1866, appendix, p. 59.

66. *House Executive Documents*, No. 23, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 7.

67. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, p. 146.

used by the quartermaster department. The number of animals used in the army June 30, 1868, was 9,433 cavalry horses, 749 artillery horses, 17,866 mules and 211 oxen for the military trains, and 1,808 officers' horses.⁶⁸ In 1869 there were in the service 8,232 horses, 16,670 mules and 161 work oxen; and in 1870 8,225 horses, 14,968 mules and 155 work oxen.⁶⁹ The vast majority of these animals were at the frontier posts where practically all the military trains were located.

The type of horse needed for the heavy work of campaigning on the frontier was hard to obtain. The native horses in Texas were not suitable for the hard service. A good grade of horses imported from Virginia, Kentucky and the northern states was more serviceable than the native stock. These imported horses were acclimated for one year before they were used in hard service. The quartermaster department recommended the establishment of breeding ranches in Texas and other Western states in order to obtain satisfactory remounts.⁷⁰ The average cost for these horses and mules was about \$140.⁷¹

The government lost a large number of horses on the frontier. Gen. O. E. Babcock reported in 1866:

I found all through the territories, where I inspected, a great many animals, horses and mules, with brand "U. S." Many of these animals undoubtedly belong to the United States, while many have been bought honestly, or at least honestly on the part of the purchaser. The animals sold to citizens have seldom been so branded, nor has there been a bill of sale given in each case.⁷²

Grain for the animals was purchased at the nearest available markets. Hay was usually procured by the labor of troops near the posts, but if the garrisons were not strong enough or if they were engaged in scouting or erecting posts, local contracts were made to provide for a necessary supply.⁷³ General Dodge in 1865 sent mowing machines to the posts in his department, where the cost of hay was \$20 to \$50 per ton by contract, in order to reduce the expense by having the troops cut the hay needed.⁷⁴ During the fiscal year ending 1869 the issues of grain, forage and straw to the army on the frontier, including all the state of Texas, were: 1,239,000 bushels

68. *Ibid.*, 1868, pp. 812-814, 850-851. The officers owned their horses.

69. *Ibid.*, 1870, p. 146.

70. *Ibid.*, 1868, v. I, pp. 812-814.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 812-814, 850-851; *ibid.*, 1869, v. I, p. 224; *ibid.*, 1870, p. 245.

72. *House Executive Documents*, No. 20, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 15; Cf. Gen. J. F. Rusling's inspection, *ibid.*, No. 45, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 45.

73. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, pp. 146-147.

74. *The War of the Rebellion . . . Records*, Ser. I, v. XLVIII, Pt. II, p. 947.

of corn, 160,000 bushels of barley, 714,000 bushels of oats, 57,000 tons of hay and 1,115 tons of straw.⁷⁵

Corruption, graft, and inefficiency were common in the army. The extent to which it affected the army on the frontier cannot be estimated. The fact that the army was poorly supplied in the quartermaster, commissary and ordnance stores was due either to corruption or "red tape." When the corruption took only the form of excessive rates of transportation or high prices it did not so materially affect the efficiency and morale of the army as it did when it involved also an inferior quality of goods such as rotten blankets and spoiled food.⁷⁶ The taxpayers were in both cases paying the high bill but in the latter case there was also an injustice done to the soldiers.

"Red tape" reduced the efficiency of the army on the frontier more than it did in the more settled regions. If requisitions for supplies were not sent out at the regular times they might be delayed until the next year. For example, if a requisition for ammunition was sent from an outlying post on the frontier to the regular depot of supplies in the East and it was not filled because of delays, the shipment might miss the annual wagon train that supplied the post. If such was the case the post would be without these supplies for months, if not a year, unless it was supplied at additional expense by a special train. The minute regulations of the administrative system failed in the practical work of the army on the frontier. Emergencies arose at any point and at any time. To meet them successfully required definite and rapid execution of all activities. The "red tape" system prevented this. The success of the army on the frontier to a large extent depended upon freedom of action by the commanding officers. The minute regulations were intended to insure economy in administration but they defeated that purpose by increasing the cost of maintaining the army through waste and inefficiency.⁷⁷

75. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1869, v. I, p. 223.

76. See *House Executive Documents*, No. 111, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 3-5, for an illustration of corruption.

77. *Ibid.*, No. 20, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 5, 13-14.

News From Kansas in 1870

PAUL H. GIDDENS

I. INTRODUCTION

WHILE examining the old files of the Titusville (Pa.) *Morning Herald* for information about the beginnings of the petroleum industry in western Pennsylvania, I noticed in different issues numerous letters written either by readers or subscribers from Colorado, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and other Western states, describing the country and some of the principal political and economic developments in their state or community. Among these were five letters from a reader from Leavenworth; the letters were written in the summer and fall of 1870, but on different dates and published in separate issues of the Titusville *Morning Herald*. All of the letters were signed by "Reno," and there wasn't any clue or evidence as to the identity of the writer in Leavenworth. Whether he ever lived in Titusville, the center of the early oil rush, and moved to Kansas, or was simply an interested reader of the Titusville paper and the oil news, is a matter for conjecture. In any event, the letters afford an interesting contemporary insight into the rapid growth of population in Kansas, the commercial and industrial development of Leavenworth, the railroad discrimination against Leavenworth, the increase of the Texas cattle business, the growth of Baxter Springs as a "cow" town, the congressional election of 1870, the overthrow of the Republicans by the Democrats in Leavenworth county in 1870, the spread of the public school system, and the establishment of a normal school in Leavenworth.

II. THE LETTERS

Leavenworth, Kansas,
July 16, 1870.

Editors *Morning Herald*:¹

I read your paper regularly and am much interested in the correspondence you publish from all parts of the country. How would your readers like to hear a few facts in relation to this state? The influx of emigration that has been pouring into Kansas for the last year and a half, has infused the minds of the city population with a rather exaggerated idea of the size of the several communities to

1. Titusville *Morning Herald*, July 20, 1870.

which they belong. The census returns prick the bladder of this inflation, and though they leave us some respectably sized Western cities, they cut in considerably upon our assumptions. The state is expected to show a population closely bordering upon half a million, and in the re-apportionment of representatives, our single member will probably be increased to three, Leavenworth, which was rated at 30,000 inhabitants, is pared down to 22,000; Topeka, which claimed 11,000, makes a showing of 8,450 on the schedules; Lawrence contains 6,500, and Fort Scott about the same number; Atchison returns 6,000. These are our largest cities. The growth of the smaller towns is somewhat incredible. Many stirring places could be mentioned, now containing several hundred inhabitants each, which a year ago were hardly known outside of the state. This is mainly owing to our rapid railroad extension.

Eleven lines of railroad are now running within our limits, with over eleven hundred miles of rail, and whenever a railroad reaches a new station, there is an instant rush of population there, town lots become an object of speculation, and values go up to the most fanciful regions. Sometimes a natural centre is reached which justifies some commercial expansion; and sometimes, as in the case of Fort Scott, where a valuable coal mine has been discovered, or of Wichita which lies directly on the road between Texas and Abilene, our great cattle market, local industries are developed which secure permanence to its sudden growth. But, generally, the excitement thus created is but transitory. Strangers rush in possessing more money than judgment, on a chance to realize a handsome fortune by investing in real estate. Speculation continues active, county bonds are issued to support the railroad, various improvements are projected, and itinerant newspaper correspondents celebrate the enterprise of these citizens in the state journals. By and bye, the railroad reaches another station. This is followed by a further rush of population, more speculation, gambling houses, rum-drinking and all the hot bed developments of our civilization, and the former embryo great city becomes flattened out, and all its fond anticipations of sudden greatness gone to the winds.

Our growth is steadily progressive; one thousand settlers a day pouring in upon a population as sparse as ours, cannot fail to cluster around a great many small centres, and diffusing themselves over the country, to fill up a great many waste places. Each railroad line, as it spreads out its long arms, brings an additional range of territory within the limits of civilization, and opens up millions of fertile

acres to the ubiquitous settler. These all have thousands of wants to supply; materials for building a home, implements for farming, live animals to stock it, saplings for their orchards, and the various necessities for the support of their families. Thus the industries of modern society are developed, and thus the limits of civilization are daily extended.

The multiplication of newspapers in Kansas is among the marvels of the age. No sooner do twenty or thirty families get together and form the nucleus of a town, than they are ambitious to have a weekly paper. "He that bloweth not his own horn," says our latest wise saw, "the same shall not be blown," and in a state where thousands of different localities are urged upon the attention of the settler through the medium of the local press, unless these aforesaid families procure a wind instrument of their own and join in the general chorus of tooting, there is danger of their advantages being overlooked in the endless list of good things offered. "To advertise their advantages through the state," therefore, they get hold of some active-minded journeyman printer, subscribe \$200 or \$300 to purchase him a second-hand outfit, and having launched him upon the sea of journalism, leave him to favorable gales and his own good seamanship to carry him into port. "The number of new papers," says a veteran journal nearly one year old, "being published in Kansas, is too large for us to keep the run of them. Every week two or three new papers put in an appearance at our office, some of them hailing from localities where a year ago there were not a dozen white inhabitants." And these papers all live. Many of the proprietors are unmarried young men. Their whole establishment is comprised in a shop boy and even if their subscription list turns in nothing, they get enough ready cash from their advertisers and job customers to pay their paper and ink bills, and buy a new suit of clothes where they can get trusted. But this chrysalis life is only probationary. In a very few years the country has so increased in population, that if the journalist has been diligent and has the right stuff in him, he finds his circulation extending, his advertising columns growing more remunerative, and a business growing up around him, which promises ample reward for his past exertions.

We are having exceedingly hot weather and our corn crop is coming on apace. Our small grains are all out.

RENO.

Leavenworth, Kan., Aug. 4, 1870.

Editors *Morning Herald*:²

Deeming that your readers may desire to know a little of what is transpiring in this Western state, I propose once in a while, with your approval, to keep them informed of the general tenor of events. This state is looked to by a great many as affording them an escape from the difficulties that perplex them, and it is desirable that all such should have some distinct idea of what state of things awaits them here. It is objected to by some writers that the fruitfulness of the West is neutralized by its remoteness from market. That it is of no use raising heavy crops if there is no demand for them when raised. But these people forget that the consumption of grain in Kansas is fully equal to the supply. While the present immigration continues, a large share of our products go to feed the new settlers until they are in a condition to provide for themselves. Then the government demand for farm products to furnish the numerous military posts, and feed the Indians, is something incredible. Millions of bushels of grain, and thousands of pounds of beef and pork are annually devoted to these purposes, thus affording the farmer prompt pay and remunerative prices for all purchased of him by the government.

The most profitable industry in this state is found to [be] stock raising. The easy access to Texas (through the Indian territory) where a surplus of half a million cattle is annually produced, has developed a trade which is constantly extending, and which promises to become our main agricultural pursuit. Already the great cattle market at Abilene is visited by stock dealers from all the principal cities and the demand for cattle keeps so far ahead of the supply that many of our farmers are now turning their attention to this branch of business. The broad unenclosed prairie affords pasture land for all the cattle that can be brought in, and the succulent wild grasses supply sufficient nourishment for at least ten months in the year. The mild winters render housing unnecessary, and prairie grass can be saved for winter feed with merely the trouble of cutting.

Business in Leavenworth is good this season, which is due partly to the growth of our wholesale business, and partly to the activity of building. To afford direct communication with the Eastern lines of transit, a substantial wrought iron bridge is being built across the Missouri at this point, and in connection with this important work, a force of workmen are now grading and carrying out the

2. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1870.

levee into the river bed, to form a site for a union depot. At Fort Leavenworth, too, which stands on a government reservation just outside of the city, unusual activity prevails. Gen. [John] Pope, commanding the Department of the West, having removed his headquarters from St. Louis to this post, has set a large force of mechanics to work building quarters and extending the quarter master and commissary store-houses. The menacing attitude of the Indians has rendered increased vigilance on the part of the military authorities necessary, and this removal of department headquarters is with a view to be nearer to the seat of the trouble. The present military force at the fort numbers 1,800 officers and men.

A piece of good luck has befallen this city lately. A valuable coal mine underlying the southern edge of the military reservation, has been opened this summer, and an excellent bituminous gas coal is now being extracted. This is regarded as not only useful to the citizens of Leavenworth, in affording them a cheap supply of fuel mined at their very doors, but as affording a facility for manufactures which so far have been carried on to a very limited extent. As an inducement to the prosecution of this branch of industry, our city council recently passed an ordinance granting a royalty of three percent, upon all sums exceeding \$10,000, which shall be devoted to manufacturing processes. The first principle of political economy is to bring producers and consumers together, and as Leavenworth is surrounded with a fine agricultural country, capable of supporting a large city population, it would seem a manifest absurdity to continue our present practice of sending our raw articles to the East to be worked into shape, and then pay for their transportation back in their finished shape. We are now sending the finest black walnut timber to Cincinnati and Philadelphia to be made into chairs and cabinet ware, and are bringing our stoves from Troy, our printing material from Chicago and St. Louis, and our ready-made clothing from New York. As our population increases and our resources become developed, it is essential to our growth and prosperity that we learn to supply our own wants, and the facilities which Leavenworth has to offer as a commercial and manufacturing centre are certainly worthy of general attention.

A lively political canvass is about to be opened in this state, the main interest of which will concentrate in the election of a representative to congress. Our present member, Sidney Clarke, is in bad odor with a number of his former supporters, and plenty of patriotic individuals are ready to step into his shoes. Kansas politics are at

all time acrimonious and vituperative and from the temper already manifested by the contestants, we may expect an unusual display of abuse and invective this fall. Popular sentiment in the West has gone entirely back on land grants to railroads, and Representative Clarke has been so mixed up in this business that he will find the task of clearing his skirts rather a difficult matter.

RENO.

Leavenworth, Kan., Aug. 18, 1870.

Editors *Morning Herald*:³

An illustration is afforded in this state of the mischievous effects of a political party having no opposition. In politics, as in war, in order to preserve discipline and keep officers and men to their duty, there needs to be a vigilant and enterprising foe. But in Kansas the Republican party have everything so completely in their own hands that they no longer seek to ward off attacks from without, but take to falling out among themselves, and the party chiefs abuse each other like very drabs. In my last letter, I informed your readers that our sole representative in congress, Hon. Sidney Clarke, was exceedingly unpopular among his constituents, and that so general a cry of corruption was raised against him throughout the state that it was doubtful whether he would get a renomination. But the party managers, instead of bringing out a good man in opposition and making his claims and merits well known previous to the assembling of the state convention, which meets at Topeka, September 8, content themselves with thoroughly aspersing the reputation of Clarke and his friends, in the belief it would seem, that if they can effectually kill him off, the nomination of his successor will be a mere matter of form. Every state paper that you open is eloquent with denunciations against our present representative. He is represented as connected with a gang of swindlers, whose operations are openly devoted to first cheating the Indians out of their lands, and then practising fraud and duplicity upon the honest settler. He is also charged with betraying the interests of his constituents by lending his aid to the numerous railroad swindles, which have secured to unscrupulous moneyed corporations nearly one half of the best land in Kansas. This cheap declamation is all well enough—a political campaign is the most stupid thing in the world without personality; but there wants well-directed effort, and hard work with it, and any evidences of these have yet to be seen. Judge Lowe, of Bourbon county, is mentioned in the Fort Scott papers as

3. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1870.

an eminently fit man for congress, and this selection is faintly re-echoed in a few scattering journals. Others propose the name of Jacob Stotler, of Lyon county, proprietor of the Emporia *Tribune*, as the very man to receive the descending legislative mantle, but he is scouted by others as a man of straw—a voice, and nothing more—and evidently if brought forward, he would stand no chance in the convention. Your old friend, Col. D. R. Anthony, of this city (brother of the noted Susan B.), is spoiling for office, and is willing to serve his fellow-citizens in any capacity, from governor down to city councilman. He would make a red-hot representative in congress, like the boy's step-mother, he would make it lively for the whole party. His past services are not forgotten, nor is the colonel himself willing to blush unseen and waste his sweetness on the desert air. Whether his name is being held in reserve as a tower of strength, or whether any number of members of the convention have been manipulated by Sid Clarke and intend to throw the nomination into his hands, remains yet to be divulged.

I am free to confess that I am so little of a politician that I care but little which way the fight goes, since it may be taken for granted that whosoever gets the coveted seat, as he has the whole state to represent and work for, will find plenty of business on hand, and even if he does not indulge in an occasional steal, he will find plenty ready to give him credit for such doings.

The citizens of Leavenworth are greatly interested in the subject of a railroad just now. The country is rapidly settling up around us, new industries are being developed, and our wholesale merchants find a steadily increasing demand for their wares. To secure our proper share in the growth and development we require extended communication. The bridge now building across the Missouri river at this point will afford our city direct communication with the Eastern lines of travel. Then there is an effort being made to connect the Chicago and Southwestern railroad now being built from Chicago to Leavenworth, with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe road. This latter road has a section already built from Topeka to Emporia, and an extension to the Arkansas river at Wichita will be carried out within a year. The only question is whether the connection northward, from Topeka, shall be made with Atchison or Leavenworth, and inasmuch as local aid to the amount of \$400,000 is already pledged and the committee of the road is desirous of perfecting such arrangements with the Chicago & Southwestern road as to have the two roads form one through line, there seems little

room for doubt that Leavenworth will be made the connecting link.

Another important road, the want of which is seriously felt, has long occupied the attention of our business men, and as a business speculation could not fail to be profitable. This is to connect with the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf road at Olathe, a town thirty miles distant. This line runs from Kansas City, Mo., to Baxter Springs, in Cherokee county, on the southern border of Kansas, a distance of 167 miles. An important trade is growing up along this line of country in the shipment of Texas cattle to the Eastern cities. By the present arrangement, the whole section of country through which this road runs is tributary to Kansas City and St. Louis. A discrimination against Leavenworth merchants by the officers of the road so seriously retards the forwarding of their goods to stations along the line that they are practically quite shut out from the trade. A connection at Olathe would tap the road at its first important turn, and confer upon Leavenworth equal advantages with those enjoyed by Kansas City, in sharing the valuable business which cannot fail to be developed in this rich and rapidly improving portion of the state.

It is pleasing to see that our business men are not only fully aware of the advantages that are to [be] reaped by proper effort and enterprises, but that they are now putting forth the effort that is needed to secure them the prize. With the facilities possessed by this city in the way of river transportation, extended railway communication, a rich country surrounding, and an inexhaustible supply of cheap fuel, it seems as if it were our own fault if our city does not fully keep up with the march of improvement in this state, and become the same commercial and manufacturing centre to the country watered by the Missouri that St. Louis is to the Mississippi valley, and Chicago to the extensive lake system.

RENO.

Leavenworth, Kan., Sept. 6 [1870].

Editors *Morning Herald*:⁴

Our merchants are making calculations on an active fall trade. The crops all through the Western country have been good, and as prices are expected to range somewhat higher this fall and winter, the farmers will be in a position to purchase more liberally than hitherto. The drought which affected the crops so seriously during July, and which in New England will render the yield a light one, has not been felt so injuriously in Kansas. In the first place, our

4. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1870.

deep porous soil retains moisture longer than soils of poorer quality, and then the copious rains which fell all through August, gave vegetation a fresh start, and almost entirely obliterated the ill effects of the parching July heats.

The Texas cattle trade is getting to be an important interest in this state. For years the cattle growers of that state have sought every market in the world for their surplus stock. Thousands are driven annually to California, Colorado, and the Northern states, and now that Kansas affords a ready outlet for their innumerable droves, it is estimated that half a million beeves are annually driven into this state alone. For the last few years the cattle drovers have sought Abilene on the Kansas Pacific railroad, where unlimited pasture-ground and extensive stock-yards afford facilities for herding the droves until they are disposed of to the cattle dealers who seek this market from all parts of the country. But Abilene now finds a dangerous rival springing up in Baxter Springs lying on the very edge of the Indian territory, to which city, a railroad connecting at Kansas City with all the main Eastern lines has lately been opened. The route from Texas to Abilene is objected to as being attended with great danger from predatory Indians, and it is also 150 miles farther from the Eastern states.

So valuable a business as the Texas cattle trade is, of course, made the subject of keen interest between the two points. Only four days have elapsed since the completion of the railroad to Baxter Springs, and during this short time an amount of business has grown up there which speaks well for the future progress of the place. Extensive cattle pens have been built there, from which stock is shipped daily. The shipments of cattle over the Missouri River, Fort Scott & Gulf road from June 1 to September 1 exceeded 10,000 head, and as cooler weather approaches, the shipments will largely increase. Then, as now, upwards of 20,000 beeves graze on the Indian lands in the vicinity of Baxter Springs, and droves containing 50,000 more are reported on their way thither.

But the cattle trade at Abilene and neighboring stations, being longer established, has attained larger proportion. Sixty car loads a day are shipped for the East over the Kansas Pacific road. The principal points on that road for shipping these cattle, besides Abilene, being, Brookville, Salina and Solomon City. Council Grove on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road, is also becoming a considerable shipping point.

When our railroads shall arrive at the extensive plains of Texas, a

great revolution may be expected to take place in the beef supply for the whole country. Numerous herds can be shipped by May 1, to the depleted markets of the East, fresh and fat from the ranges, which do not cost \$5 a piece to raise, and which will readily sell in that state at \$16 a head. Texas journals assure us that more cattle can be delivered at all the *termini* of as many roads as may be built through Texas during eight or nine months in the year than can possibly be carried over them.

The school term commenced yesterday, and as Kansas has the credit of making the most liberal provisions of any state in the union for the education of its youth, perhaps it would not be uninteresting to your readers for me to devote a few paragraphs to the consideration of this subject. A permanent school fund is established by reserving two sections in every township, the proceeds from the sale of which are devoted to building schoolhouses and supporting a corps of school teachers. A large number of the citizens of this state having come here from the East, they bring with them a lively interest in the cause of education. Every little community as it crystalizes into a town, devotes its first attentions to the erection of a school building and the procurement of competent teachers. And as considerable difficulty is experienced in obtaining teachers from the East who are willing to make a permanent home in Kansas, and thus establish that feeling of sympathy that ought to grow up between teacher and pupil, the state legislature has lately made an appropriation to found a normal school, and Leavenworth is selected as the location. A normal school already exists in Emporia, which is ably conducted, and affords very excellent training for the teachers; but as this school is south of the Kansas river, rendering attendance inconvenient for those living in the northern portion of the state, and is, besides, altogether inadequate to meet the constant demand for teachers, the erection of a second normal school has been found necessary, and the work will be commenced this fall. During the erection, temporary arrangements for holding its classes have been made at the Morris school in this city, a commodious three story brick school building, and its classes will commence tomorrow with an able faculty, and a pretty numerous attendance of scholars.

The political canvass, which has been an exceedingly bitter one, is approaching its culmination. The Republican state convention will meet at Topeka on the 8th, and from the fact that no prominent man has been brought out in opposition to our present representa-

tive (Hon. Sidney Clarke) it is generally expected that he will get the nomination. Col. D. R. Anthony, of this city, will have the entire support of Leavenworth county, but he has not much strength in other portions of the state. Our present governor, J. M. Harvey, a man of approved integrity, is pretty sure of a second term.

RENO.

Leavenworth, Kan., Nov. 9, 1870.

Editors *Morning Herald*:⁵

The telegraph will have informed your readers before this letter reaches them that the Republican state ticket has been elected in Kansas. Our present governor, James M. Harvey, an honest, unassuming farmer of Riley county, retains his seat for a second term, and Judge D. P. Lowe, of Bourbon county, replaces Hon. Sidney Clarke in the house of representatives. But the election for county officers in Leavenworth county has been carried triumphantly by the Democrats. The canvass has been actively carried on, and the Republicans, with the fusion of the colored vote, had confidently calculated upon the victory. The question with all the astonished Republican voters now is, what brought about this result? The *Times*, of this city, a radical Republican sheet, says:

Just what influences were set at work to bring discomfiture to our party, in this county, in the election just passed, it would be impossible for us accurately to determine. We only know that somehow, somewhere through some methods not made satisfactorily apparent, the major part of our ticket is defeated in this county, where we have, with the colored vote thrown solidly for us—where it, of course, will, and ought to be thrown—five to seven hundred majority.

The editor there expresses his regret that "the Republican organization in this county, should, so soon after its accession to power and influence, show evidences of disintegration and dissolution." The talk among the curb-stone politicians today, is, that the Republicans owe their discomfiture to the attempts to carry the colored man into office. The public mind in this state is not yet educated up to the point of giving official position to their "colored brethren." Negro franchise, our community is reconciled to; the *chattel* whose introduction into this state some fifteen years ago, kindled the sparks which ultimately burst forth in the Rebellion, they are now willing to recognize as "an even Christian." "But to put an ignorant colored man in authority," you may hear talked on the street, "while so many white men are so much better fitted for the position, will

5. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1870.

not go down with our people." The five to seven hundred majority which the Leavenworth *Times* talks of, and which do not appear at the polls, are, doubtless, those persons whose prejudice against the *nigger* has led them to give the county into the hands of the Democracy. "Liberty, but not Equality."

Considerable ill feeling has been aroused in this city against the Leavenworth branch of the Kansas Pacific R. R. Co. for their inordinate freight charges. Coal mined in this city and transported to Lawrence, a distance of thirty-three miles, costs a fraction over nine cents per bushel for carriage, while coal is carried from Fort Scott to the same city, over two roads, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, at a cost of fifteen cents per bushel. On other roads, the rate from Leavenworth to Lawrence, per car-load is about 70 cents per mile, while from Fort Scott to Lawrence the charge is but 30 cents per mile. This is denounced as a killing discrimination against Leavenworth, since the Fort Scott coal is mined at less expense than that obtained here, and hence the Leavenworth mineral is shut out of the Western market. This is commented on with great bitterness in the city papers, and one writer demands that steps be taken to "correct this outrageous tariff on the trade of our city." Such warmth of feeling brings the railroad company to an explanation. They assert that the amount of coal transported is so trifling (only 500 bushels a day) that it does not pay them to have their cars standing idle while a train load is being accumulated. And then, to give piquancy to the affair, they charge the Leavenworth Coal Co. with extortion, and offer, if they will ship coal at the same profit to the bank that is received by the owners of coal banks in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana or Illinois, to haul the same at the same profit that the roads in those states makes. This is edifying to us who are consumers of coal, and have the trade interests of Leavenworth seriously at heart. The coal company has received a grant of twenty acres of land and the mining right under all the country circumjacent; while the railroad company has been munificently endowed with land and county bonds, and yet the best return they can show, for such liberality is for both to conspire to rob the public!

Immigration into Kansas is active as ever this fall. The Lawrence *Journal* of Monday announces the arrival in that city of a party of two hundred from Indiana who have come to prospect for homes in the state. The Fort Scott *Monitor* tells us that an average of one hundred canvas covered wagons pass through there daily, each

containing the settler's household, on their way to the Osage lands, which have been recently thrown open to occupation. The *Eureka Herald*, published in Greenwood county, says that the banks of the Fall river are nightly illuminated with the bivouac fires of immigrants, who have come to select some of Uncle Sam's free farms, and from the *White Cloud Chief* we learn that such an immigration is pouring into northern Kansas as never was seen before. "The ferry is kept constantly busy, and the white covered wagons may at all times be seen in our streets." Leavenworth, too, seems to be getting its share of this tide, buildings are going up in all directions, and children hailing from all states in the union, are constantly being received in our schools. The tendency to flock into towns and cities to engage in trade and other non-productive pursuits, is the same here as in the more Eastern states, but as our limit of absorption is very soon reached, all superfluous members have to drift off and float with the current till they find some abiding place.

RENO.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified under general.

We receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1936, to September 30, 1937. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

NEWS FROM COUNCIL GROVE IN 1849

Correspondence of the St. Louis *Republican* republished in the supplement to the New York *Daily Tribune*, July 6, 1849.

COUNCIL GROVE, June 9, 1849.

I left Fort Leavenworth on the 16th of May, with the troops destined for Santa Fé, El Paso and different parts of New Mexico, which consist of the following corps: four companies of the Third infantry, two of the Second artillery, with 12 lb. mountain howitzers, and K company of the Second dragoons.—The latter company however, is to continue on to California as an escort to the United States Custom-House officers for San Francisco, who are at this time with them. They are some fifteen in number, clerks, assistants, &c., and surely look more like gold diggers than collectors of customs, and from all accounts I presume will find the latter business the least profitable. This company, and the party of civil officers, left our command a few days before we arrived here as they were in a hurry and could not travel with the ox teams which compose the baggage and supply train of the corps above mentioned, under Colonel Alexander. I have already stated the time we left the fort, but did not mention our delay on the Kansas river up to the 1st of June, awaiting the arrival of General Brook, who, we afterward learned, in consequence of the death of General Worth, was ordered elsewhere. The grass is very good and moist, from the immense rain that has fallen this spring, and all of the streams are high. The troops for the Oregon route and territory had not started when we left the fort, though I believe some two or three trains, with provisions for the several posts on that route, to be garrisoned, had left or were ready to leave. The disposition of the troops for that route and territory you are better acquainted with than myself. The health of the command is very good at present, considering the diseases that have raged among the troops, as well as the trains coming up the river from Jefferson barracks and while at Fort Leavenworth, from diseases contracted down the river. The cholera carried off a great number of soldiers and emigrants at the fort and other points on the river, and is not entirely out of some of the trains on that route yet, as every camp ground between here and Fort Leavenworth and Independence is marked with two or three fresh graves, as well as all along on the roadside. The Indians have all left the road at every settlement contiguous to the roadside, on account of the cholera. I noticed at Bull creek, Kaw river and Willow Springs, among the Delawares and Shawnees, that they had all run off, and left their houses and gardens, with vegetables growing, to the mercy of travelers, who, you may know, are not very apt to sympathize with anyone else than themselves. We buried five out of the train that I am in while at the fort and since, though, as I before stated, the health of course is fast improving. We shall resume our march tomorrow again, for Santa Fé. The Quartermaster's train is undergoing today a transfer to Major Reynolds, from Lieutenant Ward, and that, with some little repairing of wagons, &c., have caused us to lay by today. We overtook ex-Governor Edwards of your

state here, *en route* to California. There are a great many emigrants going *via* Santa Fé; the road is full, and we are constantly overtaking and passing trains.

VENI.

Correspondence of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* republished in the New York *Tribune*, July 20, 1849.

COUNCIL GROVE, Indian Territory, June 4, 1849.

We start this morning for Santa Fé, having remained here two days repacking, and washing, and resting our cattle. Thus far we have had very good luck, plenty of grass, and the season has been so wet that there is abundance of water everywhere. We apprehend no scarcity of water on our journey to Santa Fé. The crowd is not very great on this road. We have organized our company. H. is captain and I am judge. Our health has been very good. There have been sickness and death from cholera on the road in other companies, but we admit no doubtful characters, and have no drinking men; so we are not so much exposed to the scourge. Mr. Collier, the collector of San Francisco, is behind us with an escort of dragoons, and there are emigrants, traders and soldiers enough to eat up every Indian on the road. We expect to be in Santa Fé in six weeks, and will send some of our men to the River Gila (pronounced Héla), to dig for gold, where it is represented to be found in large quantities.

A command of troops goes out to build a fort on that river. The road is very fine and hard, equal to any that you have ever seen. The traders carry in single wagons over sixty-two hundred pounds, which is an immense load for six or seven yoke of oxen. A Dr. McE. of Mississippi, travels with us. He is a wealthy gentleman; has his servant, &c. He travels with a mule carriage. Our oxen, however, keep up with him. We pass over from eighteen to twenty-five miles a day; the traders usually about six or eight miles.

Our cattle are strong, and are the better from having been driven from the northwest and fed on corn. The doctor goes through with us. You will hear of Indian wars and every other kind of rumor; you may, however, rest confident that we will not be engaged in any fight during our journey. We heard at Fort Leavenworth that the Comanches and our soldiers had had a fight; now we learn there is not a word of truth in the report; on the contrary, that the Comanches are disposed to be very friendly.

We are about 130 miles from Fort Leavenworth, in the Kansas country. There are about 100 of the tribe about half a mile from us. They are preparing to start on a buffalo hunt toward the Arkansas river. I am trying to keep a journal, but I find it very difficult; I have so many things to call me off. But I will try to notice enough that is worthy of preservation.

"The Plains" are richer than I had supposed. The soil, instead of being arid and sterile, is very rich.—Here it is of a rock clay, very good for wheat, hemp and tobacco, but too strong for corn. Our Dr. C., I think, would have liked the trip vastly, as the Plains furnish flowers enough to meet the desires of any botanist. We find along the route almost everything that we cultivate in gardens. Strawberries and mushrooms grow very large, and are excellent, and being very abundant, we have quite good living. I will send you a line by every chance.

BORDER SENTIMENTS

From *The Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., June 15, 1854.

We are in favor of making Kansas a slave state, if it should require half the citizens of Missouri, musket in hand, to emigrate there, and even sacrifice their lives in accomplishing so desirable an end.

AN ASIDE TO FISHERMEN

From the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 11, 1857.

A catfish was caught in the Kansas river near town, a few days since, which weighed 111 pounds.

The Topeka *Tribune*, April 21, 1859.

One of our compositors getting fishy, on Tuesday, he absconded and took to the Kaw for the purpose of trying his luck in catching whales, of which this river abounds. He brought one up, as a present to us, that weighs ninety-two pounds and a half. Great is the Kaw for catfish.

The Topeka *Tribune*, June 23, 1859.

BIG FISH.—Two large catfish were captured in the Kaw this morning. The largest one weighing, net, 160 pounds. The smaller one 110 pounds. The mouth of the larger one measured, on the inside, eight by twelve inches. That fellow could carry a pretty good lunch in his head.

The Topeka *Tribune*, September 3, 1859.

The Kaw river is said to be unsafe for the navigation of large-class catfish this season!

State Record, Topeka, June 10, 1863.

A catfish was caught in the Kansas river last week, near Calhoun's, two miles below this city, which weighed 106 pounds.

The Junction City *Union*, July 22, 1865.

A party of soldiers the other day hauled out of the Republican, with seine, at one time, seven fish, weighing from forty to 105 pounds. The two that we saw, weighing sixty-eight and seventy-three, were four feet long. These finny gunboats ply the Smoky Hill, Republican, Saline, Solomon and their tributaries.

Topeka *Weekly Leader*, July 26, 1866.

We saw, the other day, four fine specimens of the finny tribe, weighing from sixty-five to 100 pounds, which some of Ike Walton's disciples had hooked from the Kaw.

The Junction City *Union*, October 6, 1866.

A catfish, weighing 125 pounds, was drawn from the Republican, at Bachelder, a few days ago. We saw one at Watson & Record's butcher shop, which was caught in the Smoky Hill, the length of which was about five feet, and about fifteen or eighteen inches across the head.

The Junction City Weekly Union, August 17, 1867.

A fish was caught in the Smoky Hill last Saturday, and served up in one of our markets, which weighed 120 pounds.

The Manhattan Standard, May 8, 1869.

The editor acknowledges the receipt of a fine, nine-pound rock bass, caught by the Manhattan fishing company in the Blue, and presented by Mr. King for the company. It was a splendid fish, and made an ample meal for two families. The fishing company is catching large quantities of fish, and some of their hauls are magnificent.

The Manhattan Standard, May 22, 1869.

A Good HAUL.—The "King boys" caught 112 pounds of catfish one night this week at Rocky Ford, on their trot lines. . . . Part of them were sent to the Topeka market.

The Manhattan Standard, June 19, 1869.

SOME FISH.—Last week a fishing company that operates in the Kansas river south of this city, caught a catfish weighing 131½ pounds, and the next day one that weighed eighty-nine, and the day following one that weighed sixty-five pounds, besides large numbers of small cats (would they be kittens?). This is doing pretty well and it wasn't a good week for fish either.

The Manhattan Standard, June 11, 1870.

FISH.—The Rocky Ford dam affords a splendid place for capturing catfish just now, and the people from all the country gather there for the sport. Some very large ones have been taken lately. Mr. Thomas Hair, from Wild Cat, took about 400 pounds a few days ago. On Thursday, Messrs. Jenkins, Horton, Elder and A. M. Tyler made a visit to the dam, and returned with about 100 pounds of fish. The largest cat weighed forty-eight pounds. They left a twenty pounder at "our house," whereat the editor makes his best bow. Baked catfish is good.

The Nationalist, Manhattan, April 21, 1871.

BIG FISHING.—Harry Pipher caught on an "out" line one day this week, a catfish that weighed forty pounds. Harry himself weighs fifty-six.

The Wyandotte Gazette, May 11, 1871.

Messrs. Fisher & Woodcock, who explore the muddy Missouri and the raging Kaw in pursuit of the finny tribe, caught a bouncing catfish Wednesday night on a hook set about forty rods up the Kaw from its mouth. As they carried it along the street hung to a pole, supported on their shoulders, its tail dragged a foot of its length on the ground, and it weighed 139 pounds. We made a dinner out of a fine steak of it Thursday, and it was very tender, rich and lucious.

The Wichita City Eagle, April 19, 1872.

The vicious manner in which the little river is being dragged with hundreds of yards of net is depleting its waters of fish. One fisherman claims to have made a haul of thirty hundred. Sportsmen are growing justly indignant.

The Wichita City Eagle, June 28, 1872.

Fish are being caught daily in large quantities from the river with hook and line. We saw a catfish weighing forty pounds brought to shore a few days ago by a staring-eyed amateur. We tried to coax him to run.

The Daily Kansas Tribune, Lawrence, May 22, 1873.

Fish stories in these parts have always been exceedingly plentiful, but fresh fish from the Kaw usually are quite scarce. A. V. Brown, the fisherman, informs us that he is now having splendid success, having caught a number of fish last night, one of which weighed eighty-four pounds.

The Miami Republican, Paola, June 2, 1876.

Tilton & Gano bought a nice lot of fish caught in the Pottawatomie, on Wednesday, one of them a "cat" weighing fifty-six pounds, and a number of them ranging from twenty to forty pounds.

The Daily Tribune, Lawrence, April 10, 1877.

The veritable old shovel-mud-catfish which Noah had in his Ark was caught in the Kaw the other day, and its head is on exhibition at Kretsinger & Timmons' grocery store—on so much exhibition that you have to go in at the back door to get out at the front, the thing's snute sticks a good ways across the street. The whole institution weighed over 100 pounds.

The Western Home Journal, Lawrence, April 12, 1877.

A fish known as the "shovel-nosed cat" was taken from the river yesterday morning, its guessed-at weight being 250 pounds.

The Daily Tribune, Lawrence, April 28, 1877.

A fisherman was observed this morning going down street carrying one large and one small catfish of such weight as to almost dislocate his shoulder. Upon his countenance he wore a wan expression of weariness.

The Nationalist, Manhattan, June 29, 1877.

Last Wednesday night Lewis Glasgow caught a catfish in the Blue river that weighed ninety-one pounds.

The Topeka Daily Capital, July 8, 1931.

Henry Zart . . . had the thrill of his years as a fisherman last night. With a single line, he pulled a forty-pound yellow catfish from the Kaw river near Oakland.



A FRONTIER COURT

Land-claim controversies were quite serious among early settlers of eastern Kansas in the late 1850's. In November, 1858, a Free-state squatters' court was organized in the counties of Linn, Anderson and Bourbon for the trial of these claims and the settlement of the difficulties arising therefrom. A. T. Andreas' *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1323, reported:

. . . In order to secure more ready obedience to its mandates, the judge of this court was called "Old Brown," though Capt. John Brown was not in the territory at that time. Dr. Rufus Gilpatrick was elected judge of this court. As no Bible could be found in the neighborhood, witnesses were sworn on Dr. Gunn's *Family Physician*. The action and decrees of the court were generally satisfactory to the settlers. . . .

A TALE OF HORROR

From the *Rocky Mountain News*, Cherry Creek, K. T., May 14, 1859.

Mr. Williams, conductor of the express, informs us that he picked up on the plains a man in the last stage of exhaustion who had subsisted upon the remains of his two brothers who had died of starvation. Three brothers set out from Illinois for the Gold Region. From Kansas City they took the Smoky Hill route, found the distance much greater than represented, ate up their provisions and when near to death, one of them sinking more rapidly than the others, requested them to live upon his flesh and try to get through. He died and they commenced their horrible feast—ate the body and again braved starvation—another died and the survivor lived upon his remains, but the same fate had almost reached him when he was found by an Indian, carried to his lodge and fed, the next day the express came along and took him in and brought him part way through, but was obliged to leave him because of his feebleness and delirium. He will be brought up by the next coach and probably arrive today.

Mr. Williams after hearing the man's story from himself and the Indian, searched for, and found the bones of the second one who died and interred them.

This we fear is one of a hundred tales of horror yet to be told of the Smoky Hill route—which will bring sorrow to many a hearthstone.

KANSAS IN 1861

Editorial in the *New York Tribune*, February 5, 1861.

If any one suppose himself in need of new or striking proofs of human depravity, we advise him to collect and compare the articles of *The Herald* and kindred journals relative to the famine now desolating Kansas, and the efforts systematically made for the relief of the sufferers. If these do not establish the point, it would be idle to ransack the chronicles of Sodom and Gomorrah, were those perspicuous and at hand.

There has been much bitter political controversy with regard to Kansas, and there was for a time a state of virtual civil war prevailing therein four to six years ago, whereof the embers have hardly yet died out, and there is now great and very general destitution there. The border raids and the famine have barely this connection: had there been no attempt to force

slavery into Kansas by fraud, terror, and violence, it is quite probable that her people would have had more means, more food stored up, and been better able to bear up under their present afflictions than they are. But the visitation of God which is now chastening them has no relation to government or politics. It is caused simply and solely by the fact that, throughout most of the settled portion of the new state, no rain of consequence fell during the last spring and summer—very little from October, 1859, to October, 1860. Of course, there are indolent, improvident settlers in Kansas as elsewhere, but these are suffering in the main no worse than their energetic, industrious neighbors. In fact, had the tillers of Kansas kept their seed out of the ground and their hands in their pockets throughout 1860, they would probably have been in quite as good a position, in the average, as they now are. Some of them planted and sowed from thirty to eighty acres each, yet did not harvest enough to keep a cow through the winter; many secured a miserable fragment of a crop of wormy corn, which, for want of grass, they have fed to their animals, and thereby lost those animals by disease. Texas and most of the Gulf states were severe sufferers by the intense, protracted drouth of last summer; but their cotton, cane, &c., stand drouth much better than grain crops, so that their loss is but partial; but Kansas grows as yet little else than grain and grass, and her loss is nearly total. Had the prairies but yielded an average burden of wild grasses, so that cattle could have been carried through to next June without loss, and not one blade of anything planted or sown ever appeared above the surface, the people of Kansas would have been less afflicted, less destitute, than they are today.

A number have died already of famine, and the diseases thereby engendered; thousands more would have died, but for the benefactions already transmitted; thousands must yet perish if the contributions of the benevolent are not continued and increased. As yet, nothing has been done compared with the extent and urgency of the need. Of the 100,000 people included within the state limits of Kansas, perhaps a fifth have fled from starvation to temporary shelter with friends and relatives in the older states, intending to return to their cabins and quarter-sections in the spring; perhaps twice as many have resources which will enable them to worry through; while the remaining forty thousand unable to get away, destitute of food and means, must be relieved or must starve. Which shall it be? The acts rather than words of the people of the older states must speedily determine.

The amount actually needed to rescue these forty thousand unfortunates from the jaws of imminent death is not less than \$1,000,000, whereof not more than \$100,000 has yet been contributed, and this mainly in grain by Illinois and Iowa. From the slave states, scarcely anything has been or will be realized; but why the Democratic press and people of the Free states should stubbornly hold back, we cannot imagine. The relative strength of the two great parties in Kansas is about four Republicans to three Democrats, and any one can judge as well as we whether a majority of the two-fifths of the people of Kansas who must be saved from starvation by charity is not quite as likely to be Democratic as Republican. If it be paltry to revive party distinctions in view of such a common and fearful calamity, let the blame fall where it ought. To every observer it is plain that the Democrats as a party—with noble exceptions, of course—are not only withholding con-

tributions for Kansas, but are discouraging the movement for her comprehensive relief. One of them starts and others circulate the manifestly villainous lie that provisions are distributed to Republicans only, when in fact all who come are served alike, and no questions asked regarding politics. General Harney officially starts and thousands eagerly circulate the atrocious insinuation that moneys contributed for the relief of the starving have been perverted to the purchase of arms and munitions for Montgomery's band; when in fact nothing like arms has been distributed or bought, and but very little, even of provisions, has yet been sent to Bourbon and Linn counties, where alone Montgomery's men are found. But we waste words on these miserable calumnies.

People of the United States! You gave freely for devastated Greece, for starving Ireland, for the Cape de Verds, for Madeira, and (more recently) for the victims of the Syrian massacres. This was right—it was noble—you did not give one dollar too much—and you are not this day a farthing poorer for it all. Well: here are forty thousand of your fellow-citizens suffering, famishing, dying, yet you have done little—far too little—to save them. They must have bread and seed, they should have at least 100,000 bushels of wheat to sow in February and March and it ought to be going forward at once. It is not their fault, it is your good fortune, that the blight has fallen on them rather than you; and you should, you must, help to bear what is essentially a public calamity. Be entreated, then, to hold meetings, appoint solicitors, and thoroughly canvass your several localities forthwith, and see that it is no picayune business either. And be pleased to consider that whatever money is collected is to be transmitted, not to us, but to the duly-commissioned treasurer of the general movement, John E. Williams, president of the Metropolitan bank, New York.

HE GETS HIS MAN

From the *Kansas Reporter*, Louisville, May 3, 1877.

Sheriff [J. H.] Shehi has no use for handcuffs. When he gets a prisoner he just cuts off the fellow's pants buttons and keeps him busy holding up his breeches while the sheriff quietly marches him to jail without any trouble. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention, but in this case it is the father.

THE REPORTER'S PARADISE

From the *Dodge City Times*, July 13, 1878.

Friday is said to be an unlucky day. It is hangman's day. Some star having special gravity struck with sporadic force yesterday, and illuminated some of the social phases in the zodiac of Dodge City.

There was a gambling sport who was chaired by a pugilistic concubine.

A drunken prostitute led to the "tannery" by her stocking-leg protector. But it was no go; she broke loose and was again on the street.

A gambler was spittooned on the head by a show-case capper. Some blood. Another event. The morning air echoed with the cries of "police"—a

stranger had come to town and was taken in, verifying the adage that a fool and his money is soon parted. He was from near St. Joe and on his way to the San Juan country. He had a pony he wished to sell, and was lured into an "insurance office" by a seemingly rural youth, who informed him that the "insurance" agent wished to purchase a hoss. It was the lottery agent who engaged the pretended rural youth in a game of chance, which induced the dubious Missourian to stake \$81, which suddenly disappeared before two flying coat tails; but which was robbed from him, says the innocent Missourian; as he had no intention of betting on any game or engaging in any lottery scheme. After this, of course the pretended rural youth and "insurance" hoss dealer were not visible to the Missourian's optics—they had taken the back door, and old St. Joe, squealing like a stucked pig, rushed frantically into the street and vociferously yelled "police."

He represents that it was a clear case of robbery, and he was endeavoring yesterday to have the parties arrested; but did not meet with encouragement, as General Alibi would step in with his forces and vanquish the solitary wanderer, who being a stranger was kindly taken in and done for. This damnable and nefarious, robbing business cannot long with sweet forbearance be a virtue. It will meet with its deserts—it will find that there is a hereafter. The day draws nigh.

How our Missouri pilgrim could have been so easily duped, with the opportunities of being informed of the pitfalls in Dodge, as the character of this city passes current everywhere, is beyond reasonable comprehension. It is to be regretted that the warnings are not sufficient, but that the backwoods of Missouri must furnish a victim to the toils of the insatiate monster that has neither heart, mercy nor soul, and like the lion from its lair, pounces upon the unsuspecting with remorseless vengeance.

P. S. Since the above was put in type the "show cases," like the Arabs, have folded their tents and silently stole away. They left on the eastern bound train last night. The pressure was bearing a little hard, and they found it convenient to leave for other parts.

KANSAS HEARS OF CUSTER'S ANNIHILATION

From the Hays *Daily News*, October 14, 1937.

A pioneer Hays newspaper editor, the late J. H. Downing, who published the Hays City *Star*, scored one of the outstanding scoops in the newspaper history of his day when he was the first to publish the news of the Custer massacre at the Little Big Horn.

Modestly, Mr. Downing in a later issue of the *Star* [July 13, 1876], recounts his coup thus: "The *Star* was the first paper in Kansas to publish the report of the Custer massacre. We published the news at 5 o'clock p. m. on the 6th of July, and the dailies of this state contained it on the morning of the 7th. This is the first puff that has ever appeared for the *Star* in its own columns, and we feel that there is no egotism in referring to its special."

The issue of July 6, 1876, tells graphically the tragic story of the massacre of General Custer and his heroic band of 261 soldiers. This was the way Mr. Downing advised Hays readers of it:

WAR!!
OUR TROOPS SURPRISED BY
THE SIOUX.

General Custer and His Entire Command Killed.
[Special Dispatch to the *Star*.]

Wallace, July 6, 1876.

Editor Star:

News just received that General Custer had a fight with four thousand Sioux Indians on June 15. General Custer and his entire command, of five companies, are reported killed. Every member of Custer's family were killed, including his two brothers, nephew and brother-in-law. The fight took place about 30 or 40 miles below Little Horn Mountain. The troops were nearly all killed by the first volley fired by the Indians.

J.

"A friend of mine whose name was Cushing, a telegrapher he was, had gone to Fort Wallace from Hays," Mr. Downing once recounted to a *News* reporter in explaining how his newspaper gave the citizens of Hays and the United States troops then stationed at Fort Hays one mile south of town, the first news of the massacre.

"He knew I printed the paper every Thursday. It was he who sent the first message over the wire to Fort Leavenworth, then headquarters of the Department of the Missouri, of the fight that had taken place three weeks previously resulting in the killing of Custer and his entire command on the Little Big Horn.

"But Cushing filed his message too late for the Leavenworth afternoon paper to get it in time for publication. Our forms were on the press and we had begun to print when I received the telegram. We stopped the press while I picked up a stick and put into type the news we had received and at 5 o'clock we told our readers of the disastrous result of the expedition against the Sioux.

"The officers at Fort Hays were greatly excited.

"When they got the news, cavalry officers came galloping over to town and crowded into the *Star* office. They said they didn't believe the story—that it couldn't be true, else the post commander would have received word direct from Fort Leavenworth. I told them I knew every word of it was true but I couldn't divulge the source of my information. To do so would in all likelihood have cost my telegrapher friend his job. Then the post officers telegraphed to Fort Leavenworth and a few hours later they received full information of the story we had printed.

"The next morning, Friday, July 7, the morning paper of Leavenworth printed the news of the massacre. I knew then we had 'beat' every other paper in Kansas in publishing the news of the battle and in later years from all I could find, I was convinced we were twelve hours or more ahead of any other paper in the country."

From the Leavenworth *Daily [Morning] Times*, July 7, 1876.

Yesterday afternoon, when the terrible announcement came flashing like a thunderbolt upon the ears of our people, of the wholesale massacre of Gen. Custer and his command, the excitement that prevailed was most intense. Large knots of citizens gathered on the street corners after reading the dispatch,

and talked of the catastrophe with sorrowing faces, for many of the officers who were in the expedition were well and favorably known to our citizens, having been at some time stationed at the fort. Some endeavored to disbelieve the report, because of the suddenness of its arrival and the enormity of the result, but a seeming straightforward story had been told, and it was with sad hearts that it was taken to be too true. The brother officers and soldiers at the fort, when the dread intelligence reached that place, dropped all conversation on other topics, and each with amazement and chilled blood, listened to the tale of the horrid butchery of their comrades in arms, and when it was generally known, nothing else was thought of or talked about. The general feeling both at the fort and in the city, is nearly the same as if a large portion of our immediate community had been visited by some dread calamity.

MIRAGES IN WESTERN KANSAS

From the Dodge City *Times*, January 26, 1878.

We have often spoken of and admired the grand mirage view entertainments in the early morning hours here, but the most interesting panoramic moving scene in nature upon which our eyes have yet feasted, was presented at 7:30 o'clock Tuesday morning. To describe it minutely would be to describe the indescribable. We have watched the changing tints of nature's kaleidoscope at sunrise from the summit of Mount Washington and the Rockies. The scene was grand. From the heights of the Alps it was impressive; from the hurricane deck in mid ocean, when angry waves like mimic mountains rose and fell; it was sublime. But there is a peculiar beauty attaches to the shifting mirage sunrise scenes here in our grand prairie valley, that whilst not so sublime, so grand, so impressive, is hardly less interesting. To the west was pictured a vast sheet of clear water, which like a silver lake with beautiful shrubs and grasses glistened in the morning sun for a few minutes and disappeared. The villages up the line stood out in bold relief, the buildings towering high, like "castles in the air." Farm cottages ten and fifteen miles away loomed up for a few minutes and then disappeared.

F. I. Burt, of Manhattan, writes as follows of a few optical illusions he experienced in western Kansas:

It is said that sailors see fantastic ships that are not real. Might it be possible that the depth of the ocean is such a gigantic mirror that sights from other planets are reflected?

I have seen great sights on land, which I will describe, but all of them were reflections of places with which I was familiar. As a rule on the so-called flat lands of western Kansas one can only see seven or eight miles, the same as on the ocean.

I have seen Garden City up in the sky, forty-five miles away—and other scenes just as great.

I will begin with early morning scenes. One morning I started for the pasture on horse back; and as I glanced up, I pulled my horse to a sudden stop. It looked as if I were about to ride into a neighbor's yard a mile away.

I looked around. The farm scenes were all brought close. A man milking and the chickens in the yard seven miles away were within a few yards of me.

I saw a number of those morning scenes, which occur just before sunrise and only last a few seconds. At times I climbed the windmill for a better view. I saw the buildings of a ranch thirty-five miles north, in the sky, when the closer places were not visible. The morning scenes were always different. I have seen farm buildings and stacks on cloudy days in the sky right side up and inverted. One cloudy day out in my pasture I glanced up and there in the rift of the clouds was a picture of our house, barn, orchard, ponds of water and alfalfa, a pretty picture. It lasted only a few seconds, a thin cloud floated by and the picture was gone when it passed. I have wondered if conditions were ever such that the same scenes appeared more than once.

We started for a ranch one afternoon and were directed to go to the north of "Dry Lake." On the way we saw a body of water on the slope of a hill which looked like a mountain with the buildings at the top, the place that we were headed for. In a few seconds it disappeared. After a few more miles we saw the lake, not dry, but a nice body of water a mile long and one half mile wide, not on the side of the mountain but in a nice valley. Why the lake was called "Dry Lake" I never learned for in the fourteen years that I lived in the county it was never dry.

On Easter Sunday, 1913, a hard west wind swept across Kansas. A prairie fire started just east of Garden City and by ten o'clock the sun was clouded by smoke and dust. We and our neighbors were anxious all day as the fire was coming toward us. The shifting wind was spreading the fire. About four or five o'clock the wind shifted to the north and the fire swept by us to the south, but not until eight o'clock did the wind go down so that we could go out to fight the fire. We lived in a valley and when we got out on the flats, what a sight we saw! As far as we could see, west, south and east fire running up the valleys and up the mountains to the sky. The greatest sight I have ever seen, large trees falling occasionally, animals running and disappearing, blazes ten to twenty feet high and not a sound. A few rods away we looked like big black giants. A six-horse team on a gang plow was a monster machine.

In reality the large trees that we saw were dry weeds ten or twelve inches high. The blazes were only three or four inches high and the animals were only voles or rabbits. The wind had been so strong during the day that a building would not catch fire nor could you have set a fire. You may ask what kept it going. Electricity set it jumping ahead a quarter, half, or mile away. The electric storms of the West are a story in themselves. The skipped spots were what were burning and what would do the damage. As was the custom, men were out on all sides of that ten by seventy mile strip fighting most of the night.

The towns of Dighton, Scott City, Leoti and Tribune are on a line twenty-four to thirty miles apart and each have a similar lighting system. One high light on a water tower and some street lights can be seen every night by anyone a few miles away, but one night between one and two o'clock, when the ground was covered with snow, I saw a picture of all four of those towns up in the northern sky and two Missouri Pacific trains. I could see the drive wheels on the engines turning. These are only some of the sights I saw in my twenty-six years in western Kansas.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Goodland celebrated its golden jubilee with an old settlers' reunion at the Northwest Kansas District Free Fair, August 24-27, 1937. *The Sherman County Herald* printed historical stories in its issues from July 22 to September 2. Titles of some of these articles and dates of publication were: "Bent's Fort Oldest Station in the West," July 22; "The Blizzard of 1886," August 5; "Sherman County and the H. U. A.," August 12; "The Capture of Black Kettle," August 19; "Sherman County, Kansas," August 26; "Early Days at Old Voltaire in 1885," September 2. The "Golden Jubilee Edition" of the Goodland *Daily News* and the *News-Republic* appeared August 18, featuring names and pictures of several score of the county's pioneers. Included among the historical articles were: "News-Republic Has Half Century Record of Continuous Publication"; "Pioneer Firms"; "Bloodless County-Seat War Left Valuable Citizens for Service"; "The Old Academy"; "Railroad Big Factor in Development of Sherman County Through 50 Years"; "Buffalo Grass to Diversified Crops History of County's Basic Industry"; "County Progress Is Shown by Comparison of Court Houses"; "Some Early Newspapers"; "Pioneer Settlers Started Church Services When Homes Established"; "First Homes in Sherman County Those of White Pioneer Families"; "Buffalo to Beef"; "Fiftieth Anniversary Finds Goodland Has Made Record of Steady Progress"; "In Education, Sherman County Has Made Fine Record."

Carl G. Lindholm, of McPherson, recently paid tribute to two pioneer women of Saline county, a Mrs. Martin and her sister Martha, in a story in the *Salina Journal*, July 23, 1937. Mrs. Martin taught school and managed a cattle ranch for a number of years.

"Hopefield, Labette County's First Mission, Was Abandoned 100 Years Ago This Month," was the title of a three-column article by Sallie Shaffer printed in the *Parsons Sun*, July 24, 1937.

Life in early Phillips county was briefly discussed by Harry E. Ross in the *Logan Republican*, July 29, 1937.

Several boom towns of the Colby vicinity which have perished were named and discussed in the *Colby Free Press-Tribune*, August 4, 1937.

A history of Angelus community, in southwestern Sheridan county, was reviewed by Father Menig in the Grinnell *Record-Leader*, August 5, 1937.

Residents of Sedgwick vicinity in 1870, as listed in the federal census, were recalled by John S. Biggs in the Sedgwick *Pantagraph*, August 5, 1937.

A cottonwood tree in Smith county, thought to be over three hundred years old, was pictured and discussed by Henry A. Clark in the *Smith County Pioneer*, of Smith Center, August 5, 1937.

Gypsum celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its incorporation with an "old-fashioned" picnic held August 11 and 12, 1937. The Gypsum *Advocate* of August 12 printed several columns of articles dealing with the history of the town, which was incorporated April 11, 1887. A brief mention of the history of the First Baptist Church in the neighboring community of Carlton also appeared in this issue.

Halstead's fiftieth annual Harvey County Old Settlers' Picnic was held August 11 and 12, 1937. In observance of the anniversary the Halstead *Independent* issued a thirty-two page "Pioneer Days" illustrated souvenir edition on August 12, featuring reminiscences of pioneers and articles relating the city's newspaper, church, school, lodge and club histories. Titles of other historical stories were: "Worst Tornado Struck in 1895," "Complete Minutes of the First Three Old Settlers' Picnics," "History of Halstead," "City Proceedings" from 1877 to 1937, "The Halstead Parks," "Halstead's Biggest Floods," "History of Halstead Cantatas," "The Story of the Noted Kit Carson Tree," "Halstead Hospital Founded by Dr. [A. E.] Hertzler in 1902," "History of Harvey County," "The Incorporation of Halstead as a Third Class City [1877]," and "The Indian Industrial School."

"Nicknames Numerous In Old Days of the West," was the title of an article by George Remsburg published in short installments in the Leavenworth *Times*, August 13, 27; September 12, 24; October 3, 14, 15, 28, 29; November 28, and December 13, 1937. Soldier creek and the "real origin" of its name was discussed by Mr. Remsburg in the *Times* of December 2.

The first well in Liberal's deep-well irrigation project was dedicated at ceremonies held August 15, 1937. It was planned to irrigate an alfalfa planting in the fall and later the experiment was to be tried on wheat. Accounts of the project appeared in Liberal's newspapers contemporaneous with the event.

Former residents of Lebanon registered at the city's fiftieth anniversary celebrated August 12-14, 1937, were listed in the *Lebanon Times*, August 19.

A history of St. George Catholic Church near Munden was sketched in the *Belleville Telescope*, August 19, 1937.

Reminiscences of Cawker City pioneers are being printed in a series of articles entitled "Among Our Pioneers" appearing regularly in the Cawker City *Ledger* for the past several months. A history of St. Peter and Paul Catholic Church of Cawker City, by the Rev. Father L. E. Wahlmeier, was begun in the *Ledger* August 19, 1937, and was continued through several succeeding issues.

The third annual old settlers' reunion of Larned was held August 26 and 27, 1937. Included among the historical articles published in the city's newspapers were: "Treasured Relic a Gift to City—Corporate Seal of Larned Town Co.," "Circular Distributed in 1893 Recalls Early-Day 'Boom Period,'" and "Copy of Articles of Incorporation of the Larned Town Company," in the *Tiller and Toiler*, August 19; "Sheriff L. W. Webb, Pawnee Pioneer, Recalls His 'Hottest Spot' as a Peace Officer," and "Old Water Mill at Browns Grove Was Erected in 1879 by Mayer and Johnson," in the *Chronoscope*, August 26. Names of the pioneers who registered and the dates they came to Pawnee county were listed in both newspapers September 2.

In observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the Rock Island railroad Herington celebrated by staging a "Goldesta" August 29, 30, 31, September 1 and 2, 1937. The *Herington Times-Sun*, which frequently prints Dickinson county historical feature articles in its regular issues, expanded to a sixty-two page illustrated fiftieth anniversary issue on August 24 as its "Goldesta edition." Histories of the city's churches, clubs and lodges were recorded. Other articles were: "The Old Home Town," by Arthur J. Carruth, Jr.; "Vision, Energy of Founder, Responsible for Herington," and "Juan de Padilla a Connection Between St. John's and Past," by Arthur J. Farrell; "V. F. W. Founding Important Day," by Frank T. Doyle; "'19 Copy 7' Frequent When Trains Ran in Many Sections," by R. E. Seneder; "City Property Once Part of Railroad Land"; "Company I Organized in Same Month U. S. Entered the War"; "Herington Women Responsible for the Beauty of Sunset Hill"; "Veteran Cavalryman [W. G. Thompson] of Hope Recalls Days of Indian Wars"; "The Tribune First Paper Issued Here"; "Mrs.

Koepke's Parents Came Here In 1859"; "Monument In City Park in Honor of Franciscan Friar"; "Herington Boomed With the Coming of the Rock Island"; "Our First Library"; "Herington's First Band"; "Much Publicity for the Town From Herington Ladies Band"; "Local Legion Post Is Named for a Corporal [Carey R. McClaren] of Company I"; "Letters From Notables of the State and Nation"; "Newspapers Have Played Part In Fifty Years of Progress"; "Post Office Construction Is Improvement for Herington"; "Rock Island Depot Has Become Kansas Landmark in 50 Years"; "Early Herington Builders Laid Good Foundation for Education"; "Missouri Pacific Rails Took Herington Out of Backwoods," and "Herington Acquired Utilities Shortly After Incorporation." *The Advertiser*, of August 26, included the following among its historical articles: "M. D. Herington Founded City in 1887," "A. M. Crary," "Fray Padilla," and "History of the Herington Post Office." For several months preceding the "Goldesta" *The Advertiser* featured the column, "Sketches in Herington's History."

Histories of the bands of Tipton, Smith Center, Luray, Cawker City, Osborne, Sylvan Grove and Lucas were briefly sketched in the *Sylvan Grove News*, August 26, 1937. The story of the Sylvan Grove band was reviewed in more detail in the issue of August 19.

Reminiscences of early Logan county were recorded by John W. Edwards, of Wichita, in a letter printed in *The News Chronicle*, of Scott City, August 26, 1937. Mr. Edwards settled in St. John (Logan) county in 1883.

Merriam school history was recounted in *The Suburban News*, of Merriam, August 26 and September 2, 1937. A new school building was dedicated September 7.

The history of Paradise school district, started over sixty years ago, was sketched by Elma Dodson in the *Paradise Farmer*, August 30, 1937. Mary Wood taught the first class.

Pioneer memories of Mrs. Mary Northway who settled in Osborne county in 1872 were recorded in an article published serially in the *Portis Independent*, in its issues from September 2 through October 7, 1937.

"Some Accurate Johnson County History," an address by Frank Hodges given at the fortieth annual reunion of the Johnson County Old Settlers' Association at Olathe, September 3 and 4, 1937, was printed in *The Johnson County Democrat*, September 9. An article entitled "Some Johnson County Indian History," by Frank D. Hed-

rick, was featured in the *Democrat's* special old settlers' supplement issued September 2. Both the Olathe *Mirror* and the *Democrat* printed names of pioneers registering at the reunion and other notes on the event in their issues immediately following.

Woodbine's history was reviewed by Bernice L. Muenzenmayer in the Herington *Times-Sun*, September 7 and 9, 1937.

Several articles of historical interest were printed in Marion newspapers contemporaneous with the annual old settlers' picnic September 16, 1937. The newspapers, dates and titles of stories published were: Marion *Review*, September 15, "Early Settlement of Lost Springs," by Mrs. William Burkholder; "[Henry Hartke] Marion County Pioneer Knew 'Wild Bill' Hickok," and "Census of Marion County Territory August 6, 1860." Marion *Record* (illustrated), September 16, "A New Story of How an Early Day Indian Massacre was Averted Here," by Silas C. Locklin, as related to his son, Chas. S. Locklin; "Early Pilson Community History," by Mrs. Jane Crist Rupp; "Pioneers Up and Down Mud and Clear Creeks," by N. A. Jones; "Lewis Riggs a Pioneer on Middle Creek," by Mrs. Lewis E. Riggs; "Early Days in East Branch Township," by C. F. Brooker; "History of College Hill School," by Mrs. Frank Rhodes; "Sid Holder Helped Build Stone Arch Bridge," and "Ferd Funk's Most Embarrassing Moment." *Record*, September 23, "Beginnings in the Canada Community," by H. J. Siebert. Mrs. William Burkholder's address, "An Appreciation of the Old Settlers," was printed in the *Review*, September 22, and in the *Record*, September 23.

The story of Chief Tonganoxie, for whom the city of Tonganoxie was named, as written by Col. George Griffith, of San Antonio, Tex., for an old settlers' reunion several years ago, was reprinted in the Tonganoxie *Mirror*, September 16, 1937.

Stockton telephone history as related by J. H. Ewing, before a recent meeting of the Stockton Rotary Club, was recorded in the *Rooks County Record*, September 16, 1937. Telephone service was begun in Stockton late in 1900.

The history of Immanuel Lutheran Church, organized in 1887 at Shadybrook, Dickinson county, was briefly reviewed in the Herington *Times-Sun*, September 16, 1937, from notes prepared by the Rev. W. G. Biel, pastor.

Names of Logan county pioneers registering at Oakley's fifty-second birthday celebration were listed in the *Oakley Graphic*, September 17, 1937.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Isaac Hudson, neé Louisa Jane Case, were briefly sketched in the Fredonia *Daily Herald*, September 17, 1937. Mrs. Hudson was born at the Sac and Fox agency located in the boundaries of present Franklin county, in 1852.

A biography of Col. Alexander Showalter, Thomas county pioneer, was printed in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, September 22, 1937.

On September 23, 1937, Smith Center celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the Rock Island railroad to the city. Several columns of historical articles relating to this event were published in the *Smith County Pioneer* and *Smith County Review* in issues preceding the celebration.

The Pittsburg *Headlight* and *Sun* issued their (1937) ninth annual coal supplement as a part of their regular editions of September 27 and 28, 1937. Stories of modern coal mining methods together with the community's coal mining history are included in the supplement.

Lucas held a "Golden Jubilee" celebration October 6-8, 1937. The Lucas *Independent* in issues throughout the summer and fall printed articles relating various phases of the town's early history. On September 30 an anniversary edition was issued. Names of pioneers registering during the jubilee were listed in the October 14 number.

Reminiscences of western Kansas pioneers were featured in a series of articles in *The Kearny County Advocate*, Lakin, in the fall of 1937.

Logan school history as compiled by Mrs. Fred C. Albright was recorded in the Logan *Republican*, September 30 and October 7, 1937. Rufus Hastings taught the first school in 1873.

Names of northeastern Jewell county pioneers were recalled by Mrs. Jennie S. Owen in a letter published in the Republic *Advertiser*, October 7, 1937.

Southern Kansas in 1874 was described by J. W. Yeager, pioneer, in the Winfield *Daily Courier*, October 7, 1937. Mr. Yeager settled in the Oxford community in October, 1874.

Fredonia's history was reviewed in the Fredonia *Daily Herald*, October 7, 1937. The city observed its annual homecoming celebration October 9.

Mrs. E. E. McGimsey's recollections of life in Hays in the 1880's were recorded by Jean Fuller for the Hays *Daily News*, October 9, 1937. The McGimsey's arrived in Hays on September 12, 1883.

Lyons celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of salt in its vicinity with a jubilee October 14, 1937. The Lyons *Daily News* related the history of the industry in a special illustrated edition issued October 12.

Salem church of Leavenworth celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its organization with special services October 14-17, 1937. Its history was reviewed in the Leavenworth *Times*, October 13.

An historical parade and a pageant depicting the story of the city were features of Hays' seventieth anniversary celebration October 20, 1937. Mrs. Josephine Middlekauff's "‘Child’s-Eye’ View of Pioneer Hays," was included among the historical articles in the anniversary edition of the Hays *Daily News*, October 14. The story was a reprint from the *News* of November 11, 1929.

Historical articles of note to the Liberal area published in *The Southwest Tribune* of recent dates include: "Whining Bullets and Sizzling Slapjacks," when cowboys shot up a lunch room, October 14, 1937; "Liberal’s Banking Institutions Have a Creditable History," the story of the city’s three banks, November 4; "A View of Forty Years Ago; Abe Stoufer, His Adventure," December 2, and "Buffalo, Wild Horses and Cattle in Panhandle of Oklahoma [in the late 1880’s]," December 9.

The Huscher Evangelical Church near Concordia observed the sixty-fifth anniversary of its founding October 24, 1937. The congregation which started in 1872 with six charter members now numbers 117. A brief history of the church appeared in the Concordia *Blade-Empire*, October 22.

Minnie Hauk, famous opera singer of the latter part of the nineteenth century, once lived in Leavenworth the *Times* reported in its issue of October 24, 1937.

Domestic life at Fossil, later Russell, was discussed in Judge J. C. Ruppenthal’s column "Russell Rustlings," featuring the life of John Cook, pioneer, in the *Paradise Farmer*, October 25, 1937. Excerpts from Col. Asa Kinney’s diary which were previously mentioned as appearing in the column in the summer of 1937 were continued in several issues during the fall. Members of the Russell county bar fifty years ago were named in the November 15 issue, and stations along the old Denver trail in the vicinity of present Russell were mentioned December 6.

Kearny county history was briefly sketched by Mrs. J. H. Rardon in the Lakin *Independent*, October 29, 1937.

Kansas Historical Notes

First of a series of commemorative monuments marking historic points in Osborne county has been located on the south side of Highway No. 24, two miles east of Bloomington. The marker, completed in March, 1938, was erected at the scene of the last Indian fight in the county, which occurred on July 3, 1870. The monument is of stones, cut and arranged to represent the old stockade which once stood about 200 yards farther south.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Kansas History Teachers Association was held at Kansas State College in Manhattan, April 9, 1938. Three papers were presented at the morning session under the general theme "International." They were: "Looking at Latin America," by C. Stewart Boertman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; "Japanese Viewpoints on Far Eastern Problems," by W. W. Davis, University of Kansas, Lawrence; "The Loyalist Experiment in New Brunswick," by Harold Conrad, Ottawa University. In the afternoon, under the general heading "National and Regional," the following papers were given: "Western Operations of the Second Bank of the United States," by W. T. Paullin, University of Kansas; "The Evolution of a Land-Grant College, 1863-1938," by Julius T. Willard, Kansas State College, Manhattan; "Research and Resources of the Kansas State Historical Society," by Kirke Mechem, Topeka. Two scheduled speakers, John Rydjord of the University of Wichita, and Vance Burch of Kansas City Junior College, were marooned at home by snowdrifts. Officers elected for the ensuing year are: James C. Malin, University of Kansas, president; Harold Conrad, Ottawa, vice president; Della Warden, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer, and Robena Pringle, Topeka High School, executive committeewoman.

The Calvin P. Titus Chisholm Trail Association, designed to provide funds for the erection of monuments marking the route of the Chisholm trail from Wichita to the Oklahoma border, was organized at a meeting held in Wichita in May, 1938. Officers of the association are: David D. Leahy, president; Ezra Beard, Albert M. Curry, Fred W. McClintock, Harry Van Ness, vice presidents, and Warren Matthews, secretary-treasurer. The first trail monument was erected in April on the John McQuillan farm about 100 rods east of

Clearwater under the auspices of Calvin P. Titus Camp, No. 5, United Spanish War Veterans. It is of Silverdale limestone, and is seven feet in height.

Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana, a 293-page book by Eli Lilly, written to interest more of the people of Indiana in the relics of the state's vanished predecessors and to stimulate inquiry into its pre-history and archeology, was published a few months ago by the Indiana Historical Society of Indianapolis. The chapter entitled "The Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian," is of interest to everyone. Archeologists, both amateur and professional, will have especial interest in other chapters discussing Indian artifacts and cultures of Indiana. The volume is amply illustrated with photographs and maps.

Recent booklets issued by W. W. Graves, of St. Paul, not previously mentioned here, are: *The Legend of Greenbush*, *The Story of a Pioneer Country Church* (in Grant township, Crawford county) and *The Poet Priest of Kansas, Father Thomas Aloysius McKernan*.

Grant W. Harrington, of Kansas City, has reviewed the history of the Shawnee Indians in a 16-page pamphlet issued in 1937 under the title, *The Shawnees in Kansas*. The Western Pioneer Press, of Kansas City, was the publisher.



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S. C. Pomeroy and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1854-1858

EDGAR LANGSDORF

OF the men who appear prominently in the history of Kansas territory, few have received less attention by writers on the subject than Samuel Clarke Pomeroy, agent of the Massachusetts and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, mayor of Atchison, United States senator from Kansas. Whatever the reason for this neglect, no story of those early years can be complete without a rather full account of Pomeroy's work, for no individual of that time was more active in territorial affairs. Particularly in his connection with the Emigrant Aid Company are Pomeroy's activities important, since no single organization exercised a greater influence during the territorial period.

The first indication of Pomeroy's interest in Kansas is contained in a letter he wrote on July 27, 1854, probably to Edward Everett Hale. It is typically Pomeroy in its display of ardent Antislavery sentiment and keen interest in business opportunities, a combination which was to appear throughout his career. He said that he had thought of making an extended tour through the territory—

with an eye directed particularly to its agricultural and commercial resources. . . . And of ascertaining the natural facilities for *Water Power*. . . . I have been anxious to be early upon the ground to occupy some of the best points upon the "Pacific R. Road"—which is destined to cross the Territory Some where.

But *above all*, I am *anxious* to have the *right* impetus given to its early Settlement, that the best principles of our resting fathers may be transplanted there! And that thus our untold domain may be saved from the blighting—withering—deadning—damning—*influence of American Slavery!!*

Pomeroy declared he would be glad to go out in the service of the Emigrant Aid Company, as his friends had been urging him to do, if he could be of use. He knew nothing of the aims of the company except its more general ones, which he found highly commendable, but he had written to Eli Thayer, and he would like to have a personal conversation with some or all of the officers.¹

This letter was written three months after Thayer had received a charter for the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. An inter-

1. Papers of the Emigrant Aid Society, Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society. Hereafter cited "EAP."

view was arranged by Hale, negotiations were carried on between Pomeroy and the company, and at the fourth weekly meeting of the trustees, on August 19, a letter from him was read in which he signified his willingness to become an agent. He was present at the fifth meeting, a week later, and was formally employed as financial agent at a salary of \$1,000 a year and "ten percent of the net profits of the Company's sales, and rents collected," the arrangement to continue for three years unless modified or annulled by mutual agreement. He was also to be allowed "all necessary travelling expenses." The other principal agents, Dr. Charles Robinson and Charles Branscomb, received the same salary, but provision for commissions was arranged in a different manner. Robinson was to be paid "two & one half percent commissions on all sales and receipts"; Branscomb was to be paid the same percentage "on all rents & proceeds of sales collected."

It is evident from these contracts that each of the agents was placed on an individual footing, but the records of the company do not indicate specifically the rating of the agents as to authority. However, it would seem probable that the intention of the company was to place the major burden of responsibility on Pomeroy, inasmuch as his commission would depend on his ability to turn in a net profit. "Proceeds of sales" might be taken to include not only sales of real property, but perhaps even of company stock. The general term "receipts" could well mean the gross income of the company. Rents and sales might be one thing; "collected" sales and rents would undoubtedly be another. Furthermore, it is not known on what basis the net profits were to be computed.

Robinson had been employed on August 7 as the general or resident agent in Kansas, having previously led the pioneer party to the territory for the company; Branscomb's duties were chiefly to act as conductor of subsequent parties. From the beginning of the company's operations Pomeroy was chiefly responsible for business dealings in the territory, both Robinson and Branscomb acting in advisory or attestant capacities. The letter of instructions to Pomeroy, drawn up at the trustees' meeting on August 26, 1854, clearly expresses this. Pomeroy, with the advice and consent of either Robinson or Branscomb, was authorized to purchase property in Kansas City and Kansas territory to an amount not exceeding \$40,000. With either of the other agents he was empowered to draw on A. A. Lawrence for not more than \$10,000, at five days' sight or longer. With the consent of at least one of the other agents he was

to purchase not more than six sawmills, a grist mill if necessary, and he was to see that "Receiving Houses" were erected. He was to keep himself advised in reference to Indian titles to lands, particularly near the mouth of the Kansas river; "and in general to attend to the affairs and interests of the Company." Furthermore, Pomeroy was to be the treasurer of the agents in the territory, and as such was to keep a set of books. Deeds to real estate were to be in Pomeroy's name and that of at least one other agent, to hold in trust for the company.² In fact, his duties were more nearly those of a general business manager than a financial agent.

The responsibilities confided to the agents and the trust reposed in them by the company are further attested by a letter written by Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, the treasurer.

. . . The whole business in Kansas has been confided to the agents sent from here. Dr. Robinson, Mr. Pomeroy, who acts as Treasurer, and Mr. Branscomb. Before making purchases . . . we expect to be advised by them here. But we shall rely on their opinion. . . . Their task is a very arduous one, since they will be forced to disoblige many, and they must necessarily make many enemies: but we think they are honorable men, and will do what they consider their duty. Mr. Pomeroy and Dr. Robinson have great experience, and they are well known here, as being capable of achieving more than most men in the same circumstances. Mr. Branscomb is younger; but he is highly spoken of as a gentleman, and as a well read lawyer. . . .³

How "honorable" these agents actually were is a question which has not yet been definitely answered. That they disappointed their employers is certain; that they used their connection with the company to advance their personal fortunes is the belief of virtually every student of the subject. Pomeroy and Robinson were the most important agents in the territory and their close coöperation and mutual respect might be called almost a *sine qua non* for the success of the Aid Company. Yet rancor and jealousy soon arose between them. Robinson, who has usually been considered—perhaps erroneously—as the chief agent, became jealous of Pomeroy's pre-eminent position in financial and business matters, and eventually, in 1856, resigned. Pomeroy continued in the company's service until 1860, by which time he was a wealthy man.⁴

Certainly Pomeroy's early record was one that might well win the approval of the trustees. According to his own statement he first

2. "Records of Trustees' Meetings," v. I, pp. 7, 12, 13-15. If Pomeroy ever kept adequate records of his business transactions, they are not included among the papers of the Emigrant Aid Company deposited with the Kansas State Historical Society.

3. Lawrence to Dr. John Day of Kansas City, Mo., September 11, 1854, "EAP," "Copies of Letters of Amos A. Lawrence About Kansas Affairs" (bound volume of typewritten copies in Manuscript division; hereafter cited as "Lawrence Letters").

4. These points will be discussed in greater detail in the November issue of the *Quarterly*.

became imbued with Antislavery zeal in 1840 when he was twenty-four years old. He was then in business as a merchant in South Butler, Wayne county, N. Y., having recently moved from Onondaga county where he had been a school teacher and merchant. His conversion from a mild interest to an active participation in the slavery controversy occurred when he heard a speech by Alvan Stewart, a well known Antislavery politician. Pomeroy says that soon afterward he called a meeting to organize a county Liberty party for Wayne county. Those present, in addition to himself, were one Mr. Snow and a livery-stable keeper. They waited an hour but no one else appeared. Snow thereupon took the chair, the livery-stable man acted as secretary, and Pomeroy made a speech. Resolutions were adopted and a county ticket was prepared which received eleven votes in a population of twenty thousand. But first successes are rare, and he boasted that six years later the Wayne county Liberty party carried the election.⁵

Soon after the death of his first wife, Miss Annie Pomeroy of Onondaga, and her infant child, probably in 1842, Pomeroy returned to Southampton, Mass., where he had been born and where his early life had been spent, to make a fresh start. He continued his political activities, lecturing in schoolhouses, preaching from house to house, and making converts to the cause of freedom everywhere. From the evidence available his opposition to any increase in slave territory was probably the most positive force in his life at that time. He helped organize the Free-Soil party in Massachusetts and in the campaign of 1843 he worked for Henry Clay, the Whig candidate, in opposition to the Democrat, Martin Van Buren, until the publication of Clay's second letter on the question of the annexation of Texas. Clay's declaration that he was not opposed to annexation, but should be glad to see it if it could be done by common consent and upon just and fair terms was too much for Pomeroy. That "painful and killing letter," he said, ". . . cured me. We were making a campaign upon the plank of no more such territory; and when our leader surrendered, we bolted and marched to the ranks of

5. *The Anti-Slavery Record of Hon. S. C. Pomeroy*, pp. 3-4, in "Kansas Biographical Pamphlets," v. II. Reliable material on Pomeroy's life before 1854 is almost entirely lacking. This pamphlet was published by the Equal Suffrage Association of the District of Columbia (Washington, D. C., 1866), obviously in support of Pomeroy's campaign for reelection to the United States senate. As such it is factually unreliable, although it is taken over almost verbatim for the biographical sketch of Pomeroy by L. P. Brockett in *Men of Our Day* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 425-433. See, also, *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. XII, p. 69; *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. XV, p. 54; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1421; and Wm. E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (New York and Chicago, 1918), v. III, p. 1219.

Hon. James G. Birney, and polled votes enough to defeat the man we would not elect."⁶

In 1844 Pomeroy was nominated for the Massachusetts legislature by the new Free-Soil party at Southampton and received eleven votes. He was a candidate for eight successive years, and finally, in 1852, was elected to the house of representatives over both the Whig and Democratic candidates.⁷ In the legislature he continued his fight against slavery. Being in Washington one day shortly after President Pierce had signed the Kansas-Nebraska act, he called upon the President and is reported to have exclaimed:

Sir! this measure which has passed is not the triumph you suppose. It does not end, but only commences hostilities. Slavery is victorious in Congress, but it has not yet triumphed among the people. Your victory is but an adjournment of the question from the halls of legislation at Washington to the open prairies of the freedom-loving West; and *there*, sir, we shall beat you, depend upon it!⁸

Pomeroy's brief career in Massachusetts politics was perhaps in some degree responsible for his subsequent connection with the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Eli Thayer, of Worcester, founder of the company, was also a politician, serving in the house of representatives in 1853 and 1854, and it seems likely that he and Pomeroy were acquainted before Pomeroy became an agent.

No time was wasted after his employment by the company. The second party of emigrants sent out by the Aid Company, traveling from Boston under the leadership of Pomeroy and Robinson, arrived in Kansas City on September 6, 1854. They remained there for several days while horses and supplies were purchased; then they made a three-day trek across the territory to the Wakarusa where they found the camp of the first party, which had left Boston in July. The two agents decided next day to build their city there. A settler named Clark Stearns had already preëmpted the location and to avoid the possibility of trouble later Pomeroy bought his claim for \$500 in gold. This was an enormous sum when all the land around might have been had for nothing, but there is no record of any objection to the purchase.⁹

A town association was formed and the first meeting was held on

6. "The Times of War and Reconstruction: Reminiscences of Hon. S. C. Pomeroy," in "Kansas Biographical Scrap Book," "P." v. VI, pp. 149-150. Hereafter cited "Reminiscences." These reminiscences, written in 1886-1887 when Pomeroy was living in Washington, D. C., and printed in an unidentified newspaper, are filled with inaccuracies and cannot be entirely relied upon.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 150. *Anti-Slavery Record*, p. 4. *The Massachusetts Register*, 1852, p. 319.

8. *Anti-Slavery Record*, pp. 6-7.

9. "Reminiscences," p. 153.

October 1. It was decided to name the town Lawrence in honor of Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, the treasurer of the Aid Company. The main street had already been laid out by A. D. Searle, who, Pomeroy says, had been his "school-boy" in Massachusetts, along a line surveyed due north and south. This became Massachusetts street; fifty-foot lots were marked off and each man in the party was given one.¹⁰

Pomeroy's first task was the erection of a sawmill to cut lumber for houses.¹¹ Also, in his capacity as financial agent he purchased the Union hotel in Kansas City for \$10,000, giving a draft on Treasurer Lawrence for the money. This hotel, which was to be used to receive emigrants en route to Kansas, was placed under the management of a Mr. Morgan of Massachusetts.¹²

In October Gov. Andrew H. Reeder and other territorial officials visited Lawrence and were formally received by the settlers. Pomeroy was designated to make the speech of welcome, which he did in his customary pious, pompous style, and Reeder replied pleasantly.¹³ A public dinner was held at one o'clock at which Pomeroy presided "with the most perfect ease and dignity." Numerous toasts and lengthy responses after the fluent manner of the 1850's concluded the banquet, and the governor was escorted to the top of Mount Oread to look over the new domain. He was impressed, his hosts were pleased, and conditions augured well for the Free-State cause.¹⁴

During October and the early part of November several parties pushed on up the Kaw valley. Pomeroy's statement that he accompanied the parties founding Topeka and Manhattan is not borne out by other accounts. Early in December Doctor Robinson, acting for the Aid Company, assisted in forming a town corporation and in laying out a town which became Topeka. It is possible that Pomeroy, as he claims,¹⁵ had previously traveled up the Kansas river to select this site, but his name does not appear in accounts of Topeka's early history.¹⁶ And although he did travel through the central part

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154. "EAP," copy from original documents kept by a member of the first Massachusetts company, and from the minutes of the meetings of the old Lawrence Association. The Aid Company was to receive one fourth of the lots.

11. "Reminiscences," pp. 106-108, 154. He assisted also in the formation of a Congregational church.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107. Pomeroy quotes from the speech as reported by Samuel F. Tappan, a Boston Abolitionist. See following footnote.

14. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 13, 1855. Letter to the editor of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise* by S. F. Tappan, Jr.

15. "Reminiscences," pp. 109-110.

16. Cf., F. W. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, pp. 21-22. Also *Herald of Freedom*, January 13, 1855. C. K. Holliday to John Armstrong, November 26, 1883, in "C. K. Holliday Collection," in answer to remarks made by Giles at a meeting of old settlers in celebration of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the founding of Topeka, in *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, December 6, 1882.

of the state exploring the region of the Smoky Hill and Republican it is unlikely that he accompanied the party which located the town of Manhattan, some sixty miles up the river from Topeka.¹⁷

These activities were in accordance with the expressed views of the company officials, particularly Doctor Webb, the secretary, who favored the establishment of several towns rather than a concentration of forces at one place. Webb wrote:

My idea has always been, that it was not well to concentrate our people in one locality. It is desirable that New England principles and New England influences should pervade the whole Territory; this can only be effected by wise foresight and judicious management. Dot Kansas with New England settlements, and no matter how heterogeneous the great living mass which flows into the Territory may be, it will all eventually be moulded into a symmetrical form, and the benefits resulting therefrom will be such that generations yet to come will bless the memory of those thro' whose efforts the boon of freedom, knowledge and pure & undefiled religion were secured for them and their posterity.¹⁸

The settlers at Lawrence were very slow in building permanent homes for themselves, partly because of the scarcity of lumber, since a large portion of the timber lands had been claimed by Missourians,¹⁹ but chiefly because the Aid Company's sawmill was not operating until November.²⁰ In any event, as late as November many of those who first went out were still living in tents; and one emigrant arriving at Lawrence in late autumn was surprised to find that the town of which he had heard so much, whose progress was reported to be so rapid, consisted of one log cabin, one shake house and numerous objects which he first took for haystacks but which proved to be hay houses. One of the finest houses in Lawrence, as described on December 3, was an earth-floored hut about fourteen feet long consisting of a framework of rough poles covered with a layer of brush upon which was a layer of sod and finished on the outside with a covering of prairie grass.²¹ Fortunately the winter was not severe or casualties among the settlers might have been numerous.

This chaotic condition only reflected the situation of the company. Although Webb wrote to Robinson on November 20 that "the Trustees have abundant reason to be fully satisfied with the manner

17. Isaac T. Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 246 ff.

18. Webb to Pomeroy, October 30, 1854, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books."

19. Cf., J. C. Malin, "The Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. X, p. 294. See *Herald of Freedom*, January 6 and 20, 1855.

20. Letter from S. F. Tappan, Jr., November 25, in "EAP," "Records of Trustees' Meetings," v. I, p. 54. Cf., letter from Robinson, December 6, in *ibid.*, p. 58.

21. *Herald of Freedom*, January 6, 1855. Webb to Pomeroy, November 6, 1854, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books."

in which both you and Mr. Pomeroy have filled your agencies; and are aware that our present enviable position is attributable in no small degree to your untiring energy, industry, and zeal . . . ,”²² in point of fact the position of the company was precarious. Money was coming in very slowly; no one knew the real value of the company’s stock and many persons in the East gave money much in the spirit of charity toward a worthy cause. It was essential that this feeling be altered if the company’s plan to proceed on a business basis was to succeed.

On November 16 Pomeroy was again in Boston. He spoke with Secretary Webb, to whom he gave “a highly satisfactory account of the condition and prospect of affairs at Lawrence. . . .”²³ Webb reported to Treasurer Lawrence that Pomeroy spoke very highly of the company stock, which he considered worth double its cost, and Lawrence, upon whom rested the whole task of financing, was much encouraged. Writing to Robinson, he said:

This last will help us very much. Heretofore we have been able only to surmise; and the subscriptions to stock have been made very much as though they were donations. Now that the belief has become pretty common here that Kansas will be a free state, the subscription has dragged very heavy.
. . .²⁴

Pomeroy remained in the East for more than a month. He attended trustees’ meetings on November 22 and again on December 23, just before he left for the territory. He addressed a meeting of the stockholders on November 28, conferred with the trustees on other occasions, and traveled through New England addressing meetings and holding conferences with interested parties at Providence, New Bedford and Salem, Concord, and Portland.²⁵ The purpose of the tour, of course, was to persuade prospective investors that the company was proceeding on a sound business basis with excellent chances of showing a profit and that the stock was therefore a good investment. Whether Pomeroy was successful is doubtful; indeed, it seems clear from events immediately following that little or no result was achieved.

He was accompanied on the return trip by Shalor W. Eldridge, of Southampton, a friend since boyhood, who had leased the Kansas City hotel and was now preparing to take over its active manage-

22. *Ibid.*

23. Webb to Robinson, November 20, 1854, in *ibid.*

24. Lawrence to Robinson, November 21, in “EAP,” “Lawrence Letters.” Cf., same to Pomeroy, September 29: “. . . Money comes in very slowly, and there is hardly anything on hand to meet your drafts, now expected; but they shall be paid. . . .”

25. Webb to Robinson, November 20 and December 21, 1854, in “EAP,” “Webb Letter Books.” Also “EAP,” “Records of Trustees’ Meetings,” v. I, pp. 45-47, 60.

ment.²⁶ They reached Kansas City early in January, 1855, and Pomeroy went at once into the territory where he began the task of putting up a sawmill at Topeka and getting his accounts in order. During the next month building was also carried on at Lawrence, despite the inadequacy of the single mill;²⁷ and Pomeroy was busy besides in trying to arrange title and prepare a new townsite for settlement.²⁸

Doctor Robinson went east in February and did not return until the next month. In his absence difficulties which had arisen over claims to the townsite of Lawrence were compromised, and in Robinson's opinion the Aid Company suffered unnecessarily in the transaction. He charges Pomeroy with responsibility in the matter and implies that the financial agent had a hand in the mutilation of South Park in Lawrence. The town had originally been platted to include a park two blocks square but about this time was altered by cutting off a strip of land half a block wide on each side of the park, dividing this strip into lots, and distributing the lots to the "spoils-men."²⁹ Whether Pomeroy was concerned in the deal is not proven; in fact this story of Robinson's is the only mention of the matter known to the writer.

In March the Emigrant Aid Company entered a period of financial crisis. Virtually no money was being received and expenses were heavy. It appeared, wrote Treasurer Lawrence, that "the whole fabric must come down with a crash . . . unless we have energy enough to avert it." Pomeroy, he went on, must be instructed to suspend all operations and to discharge all workmen unless the company could obtain funds to finance him. Since Lawrence was the chief financial supporter of the company he spoke with authority. By the beginning of March he had advanced \$7,000, all of which was borrowed money, and could see no point in going on unless he was prepared to "carry the thing through with 30 to \$50m; which is out of the question."³⁰

26. S. W. Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka, 1920), v. II, p. 13. Also *Herald of Freedom*, January 27, 1855.

27. Pomeroy to trustees, January 30, 1855, in "EAP," "Records of Trustees' Meetings," p. 66. Pomeroy to executive committee, February 16, in "Records of the Executive Committee," v. I, p. 77. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company had been reorganized as the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and on March 5, 1855, five men were chosen to constitute an executive committee, replacing the three trustees. The committee's first weekly meeting was held on March 10. Records of the meetings are continued in the same volume which was used by the trustees.

28. Pomeroy to executive committee, February 16, *ibid.*, pp. 77-78. Same to James Blood, February 8, in "Blood Papers."

29. Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (New York, 1892), p. 88. The change in the park is recorded on the plat of Lawrence.

30. Lawrence to J. M. S. Williams, March 2, in "EAP," "Lawrence Letters."

Pomeroy during this period was of little assistance in reducing expenditures. On February 16 he wrote that he had secured the "Fish Crossing," now called the Wakarusa," on terms whereby the company would receive 320 acres of timberland and half the townsite in that vicinity;³¹ and in March he took an option on 1,280 acres of exceptionally good timber land opposite Topeka, only awaiting orders from Boston to secure a long-term lease.³² These transactions were excellent from every standpoint but one—how were they to be financed? Furthermore Pomeroy was overdrawn about \$7,000 and needed still more money.³³

At a meeting of the executive committee on April 18, it was agreed that Pomeroy must be afforded temporary financial relief if it was at all possible and he was authorized to draw immediately for the balance of the \$10,000 already appropriated to meet the outstanding indebtedness incurred by him in the company's behalf.³⁴ The treasurer, whose reply to this vote was read at the next meeting on April 21, refused pointblank to accept the instructions. "Passing votes," he said, "will not put money in the Treasury nor make up deficiencies."³⁵ Yet only three days before in what appears a most contradictory humor he had written a letter of encouragement to Pomeroy in which he said:

You have had a trying time. It is worth a good deal to a man to have his "pluck" tried: he is worth more in the estimation of others, if he stands the trial, and he is worth more to the world; and besides he feels better satisfied himself to know that what is in him is good stuff. . . .

Do not fear to buy the Kaw lands freely for the company. The company needs something to make money with, more than the Trustees or outsiders. . . . I will pay an overdraft on that.

This, too, despite the fact that stock subscriptions "have almost ceased . . .,"³⁶ and that the executive committee, when Pomeroy suggested that investments in Wyandotte claims would be highly desirable, could only reply that the company was not in a position to invest in them, no matter how desirable they might be, to any greater extent than was necessary to guarantee the rights to the Lawrence property.³⁷

31. "EAP," "Records of the Exec. Comm.," v. I, pp. 77-78. Pomeroy had secured this site, about twelve miles from Lawrence, from Pascal and Charles Fish. He expected to call the town Wakarusa, and contemplated locating his office there. Apparently the town was never settled. Pomeroy to James Blood, February 3, in "Blood Papers."

32. "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. I, p. 84.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

36. Lawrence to Pomeroy, April 18, in "EAP," "Lawrence Letters."

37. Executive committee meeting of April 28, in "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. I, pp. 119-120. It was voted that Pomeroy and Webb might make any personal investments in the claims that they desired, if they were not inconsistent with the interests of the company.

Suspecting, perhaps, that the company's precarious situation was in some degree his fault, Pomeroy wrote to Webb on April 1 to say that he was willing to resign if it was desired. The secretary replied that not a single member of the executive committee wished him to do so; that on the contrary every one recognized his ability and sincerity and fully realized "how much the success of our efforts, and the prosperity of our business operations depend upon your continuing in the agency which you have thus far so ably and faithfully managed."³⁸ At the same time, Webb went on, the committee did not want Pomeroy to neglect his private interests, which would be unnecessary and unwise.

An election for members of the territorial council and house of representatives which was held on March 30, 1855—in which Pomeroy received one vote for representative—resulted in a victory for the Proslavery forces.³⁹ Contemporaneous accounts are filled with stories of illegal voting and of intimidation and violence at the polls.⁴⁰ Several protests were made and Governor Reeder ordered special elections held in certain districts on May 22.⁴¹ The Missourians were outraged; the *Brunswicker*, of Brunswick, Mo., saying of Reeder, "This infernal scoundrel will have to be humped yet."⁴² The slavery men disregarded the supplementary elections, since they already held a majority of the seats, and refused to recognize the Antislavery representatives who were elected.⁴³

During this exciting period—in fact, throughout April and May—Pomeroy appears to have been occupied chiefly with getting the sawmill at Topeka in running order, settling more definitely the title to Lawrence, and making a tour of inspection through the Neosho country.⁴⁴ He was interested also in a riot at Parkville, Mo., where in April a mob destroyed the Parkville *Luminary*, an Antislavery newspaper published by George S. Parks. Pomeroy

38. Webb to Pomeroy, April 23, in "Webb Letter Books."

39. "Executive Minutes of Governor Reeder," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, pp. 260-261.

40. Cf., John H. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas . . . With a Complete History of the Territory Until July, 1857* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 35; John N. Holloway, *History of Kansas From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley to Its Admission Into the Union* (Lafayette, Ind., 1868), pp. 139-153; Wm. A. Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and Her Allies* (Boston, 1856), pp. 70-82. Cf., Webb to Pomeroy, April 23, in "Webb Letter Books," p. 134.

41. Gihon, *op. cit.*, p. 85. "Executive Minutes," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, pp. 262-276. Cf., Robinson to E. E. Hale, Lawrence, April 9, 1855, in correspondence, "EAP."

42. Gihon, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 86. Pomeroy wrote that Reeder defied the threats of the Missourians and "stood up like a man."—*National Era*, Washington, May 3, 1855.

43. Malin, *loc. cit.*, p. 297, after an investigation of the election in Lawrence precinct, notes that accounts are contradictory. Free-State claims of violence are difficult to substantiate, while failure to provide adequate legal definitions of the qualifications for voting makes any exact measurement of the illegal votes impossible.

44. Webb to Pomeroy, May 14 and 18, 1855, "Webb Letter Books."

wrote to encourage the editor. "We are all for you," he said, "heart, soul, and purse. If you want anything just let us *know it*. . . . In consequences of that *mob*, I can raise you 1,000 new subscribers. One more sack will be worth to you \$10,000. There is a good time coming this side of heaven." ⁴⁵ On May 4 in a letter to the executive committee he wrote that the Missourians had threatened to hang Parks and himself and to burn the company's hotel. Parks was leaving for Illinois, supposedly to get legal advice from Stephen A. Douglas, and Pomeroy himself went east the last of the month.⁴⁶

He spent June and the greater part of July in Boston and the New England states, speaking at the first annual meeting of the company on June 1, at several meetings of the executive committee, and at other gatherings at various points.⁴⁷ This again was a money-raising tour, but although several thousand dollars in stock subscriptions were secured it resulted rather in pledges and assurances of future interest than in immediate financial assistance.⁴⁸ The fortunes of the company were again at dangerously low ebb.⁴⁹ Robinson, working alone in Kansas, wrote that he was badly in need of money. Work was proceeding rapidly on the company's new hotel at Lawrence, expenses had been heavy, and the workmen would soon be asking for their wages. Pomeroy knew the situation and had taken \$300 in drafts with him which he was to cash in Kansas City and forward to Robinson, but the money had never been received. Nearly \$5,000 was needed at once. Robinson believed that all this was Pomeroy's fault, though he added:

However, I am not disposed to censure or find fault except *good naturally* for I can make great allowances for his apparently forgetting Kansas money matters *here*, while he is so busily engaged in providing for the future.⁵⁰

Meantime in the territory storm clouds were gathering. The Kansas legislative assembly had met at Pawnee City on July 2, thwarted Governor Reeder by moving to Shawnee mission, and there enacted the now famous "bogus laws" and slave code. The result was to undermine the confidence of the Free-State groups and lead them to

45. Pomeroy to Parks, April 24, in "Pomeroy Papers."

46. "EAP," "Records of the Exec. Comm.," v. I, p. 128. See, also, *Herald of Freedom*, April 21, 1855.

47. "EAP," "Records of the Exec. Comm.," v. I, pp. 143, 144, 146, 155, 158, 163. Lawrence to Robinson, July 10, in "Lawrence Letters." "Webb Scrap Books," v. IV, p. 209; clipping from *Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, July 10, 1855.

48. "EAP," "Records of the Exec. Comm.," v. I (meetings of June 30 and July 21), pp. 156, 163.

49. The treasurer's report at the annual meeting showed a balance on hand of only \$344.33.—"EAP," "Records of Annual Meetings."

50. Robinson to Webb, Lawrence, July 24, 1855, in correspondence, "EAP."

feel that peaceful penetration would not be successful. Treasurer Lawrence, in a letter to Webb dated July 20, remarked that the crisis was approaching in Kansas and that Robinson was the man to meet it.

That a revolution must take place in Kansas is certain, if that can be called a revolution which is only an overthrow of usurpation. If Pomeroy were there now to wake up the energy of the people, and prepare them for resistance to Missouri rule, with Robinson to lead the advance guard, when the time for action comes, then we might expect to see the free state banner waving over the Territory before long. . . .⁵¹

In a letter to Robinson of the same date Lawrence expressed the wish that Pomeroy were there in the territory to help.⁵²

Pomeroy did reach Kansas probably in the second week of August in time to participate in the first Free-State convention which met at Lawrence on August 14 and 15 and make a "neat, well-prepared speech, interspersed with some beautiful, appropriate quotations of poetry, and which was delivered in a very agreeable manner."⁵³ He was opposed to the action of the convention in repudiating the territorial legislature and ordering an election of delegates to a constitutional convention, because he believed it premature and preferred to hear the wishes of the new governor before taking any revolutionary step.⁵⁴ He is quoted in the *Herald of Freedom* as saying in the debate:

. . . Let us not embarrass the new powers. I believe there is yet light, though all now is dark as night. I have just come from the East, and have travelled through the free West, and I know that a determined and firm course will meet with the support of every freeman in the nation, and many of the best men of the South. There is a way to redeem our Territory, and I believe it can be done. The Grecian fable tells us that Justice can sleep, and Equity lie napping on the couch of time—but we deceive ourselves if we think, on her waking, she will be affrighted back to her native heaven. Those men now in power, by foreign votes,

"Dressed in a little brief authority,
Play fantastic tricks before high heaven."⁵⁵

51. "Lawrence Letters." Leaders of both sides felt that violence was inevitable. Cf., the letter written later in the same year by the Proslavery partisan, Sen. David R. Atchison of Missouri: ". . . I do not see how we are to avoid civil war: come it will. Twelve months will not elapse before war—civil war of the fiercest kind will be upon us. . . ."—Quoted by Malin, *loc. cit.*, p. 300.

52. "Lawrence Letters."

53. Isaac T. Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, p. 252.

54. Cf., Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (New York, 1892), pp. 169-170. Reeder had been removed from office and Daniel Woodson, secretary of the territory, was acting governor until the arrival of the new appointee, Wilson Shannon of Ohio.

55. *Herald of Freedom*, August 18. Also John Speer, *Life of General James H. Lane, "The Liberator of Kansas"* (Garden City, 1896), pp. 39-40. Speer says (p. 41): "General Pomeroy, a man of talent, . . . stood aghast at the temerity of that brave assembly . . ." in defying the legislature.

A second convention met at Big Springs on September 5, and before adjourning provided that another meeting should be held two weeks later at Topeka. In the interim Pomeroy took to the stump in behalf of the Free-State party and to agitate further against Missouri domination of Kansas politics. In a long letter written on September 15 he said he was leaving that day to visit all the principal settlements and speak for "*Reeder & freedom*," that he had written and memorized the best set of speeches he had ever made, and, he continued, ". . . if Governor Shannon wants to send any man to prison for uttering his sentiments—I am ready!!!"⁵⁶ He expected to make his first speech at Lawrence in the presence of Shannon, ex-Governor Reeder, and all the present and former members of the territorial judiciary.

Pomeroy evidently was feeling strongly at this time. This letter is one of the most passionate in his extant correspondence, and shows that his desire to proceed moderately, expressed only a month before at the Lawrence convention, had completely vanished. He wrote:

Today . . . is the first day that it has been a crime to say "A Man has no right to hold a Slave in this territory." And I shall say so, in the most earnest & emphatic manner, in the face of Governor Shannon & the officers of the Law. And I shall say *any* and *every thing else I chose [sic] to say*. I have written my speeches and committed them, and *I know what I shall say*. Every sentence has been weighed & guarded. If I am molested I shall publish the whole speech—so the country may know what I did say—and decide if there are any guarantees in the Constitution, or any virtue in the people to afford me protection. General Whitfield⁵⁷ is stumping the territory. Conway & myself have agreed to meet him at a few points and see if he can defend his position.

I have been for *putting off* the motion to form a State Constitution for the present. But I can see no other way out of our troubles. If this Legislation is put aside and a new *Territorial Legislature* chosen, we have no security but the same thing will be tried over again. And with a president who will eat his own words every three months, what can we expect! We can *form* and *adopt* a Free-State Constitution if we are not molested by Missourians! by a vote of more than 4 to one. . . . My *faith* has never faltered for an hour in the ultimate success of our cause. The only great matter of *pressing interest* now is, *when is the more favorable time to strike for a State Government*. We shall have *no government* until we have a *State Government*. . . .

Hasten up the emigration. Write me about funds. I want to know the prospect, so I can calculate accordingly. I shall never meet with embarrassment if I can know what to depend upon, for *I will not spend money before we get it*.⁵⁸

56. Correspondence, "EAP."

57. Whitfield was the Proslavery candidate for territorial delegate to congress.

58. Correspondence, "EAP." Letter cited in Footnote No. 56.

Two days later Pomeroy wrote to J. M. S. Williams, a member of the executive committee, to ask his opinion and advice about the Kansas political situation. He wrote that Governor Shannon apparently was a supporter of the Proslavery party, that he had insulted Governor Reeder in his first speech, and had "since *said & done miserable foolish things*, for a Governor, or anyone else!" Pomeroy stressed the dependence of the Free-State group in Kansas upon Northern support and particularly upon sympathy and approval in what they might undertake. They had already, he said, appointed a time for an election and for sending a memorial to congress explaining their reasons for revolting against the legal territorial legislature. They were going to elect Reeder as their delegate to congress to contest Whitfield's seat and thus bring the whole matter before congress. Next they planned to call a convention of delegates to form a state constitution and then to organize a code of laws, elect state officers, and "knock at the door of congress for admission, by the middle of March next." Several objections might, and probably would be made to admission into the union at that time: that the population was too small, that admission would be hasty and premature, and that the petitioning convention was not called by or in conformity to the legislature and the order of the governor. Also, party politicians would want Kansas to "*stay out for capital in presidential Election.*" Against these objections Pomeroy argued that the population was as large as that of either Michigan or Florida when they were admitted and promised to outstrip both under a Free-State constitution; that whether admission would be too hasty must be judged by the unusual circumstances of the case, since the Free-State men felt they could not respect the existing legislature and its acts and saw no better prospects under territorial government; and finally, that whether the convention was legally called would depend entirely on the view taken of the Proslavery legislature.

Implying the hope that the political parties of the North would coöperate in support of the plan, he said:

The Free-Soilers & Whigs ought not to be over anxious who wins, if *freedom is secured*. . . . You know I've had but one sentiment—that *with our efforts continued Kansas was sure for freedom*. I now see it clearer than ever. I think of the *true settlers* we stand as 4 to 1. You think I am too sanguine. Well, may be—one thing; we will soon get the quarrel into Congress and before the country. If so, we shall have a little relief. . . .⁵⁹

59. "EAP," correspondence.

The plan was carried out at the convention which met at Topeka on September 19. An executive committee was appointed and an election to choose delegates to a constitutional convention was ordered held on October 9. On October 1 Whitfield was chosen to represent the opposition—the legal government—in the election held under the auspices of the “bogus legislature,” and the Free-State election following selected Reeder, as Pomeroy had predicted.

In a letter to Pomeroy dated September 22 A. A. Lawrence expressed his approval of the plan to press for admission and said he believed the shortest and best method of obtaining an opinion of the plan was to see that both parties in the territory elected congressional delegates who represented the feelings of the two great parties in the East—that is, Proslavery and Antislavery.⁶⁰ This those delegates, Whitfield and Reeder, plainly did. Each party in the territory, of course, ignored the other's election.

The constitutional convention assembled at Topeka on October 23 and framed a proposed state constitution. This was submitted to a referendum on December 15 and the constitution was ratified almost unanimously.⁶¹ Following this, on December 22, a caucus meeting in Lawrence nominated Doctor Robinson for governor.⁶² During the same period the leaders of the Free-State party were attempting to rally support throughout the territory for the struggle which everyone felt was approaching.⁶³

In fact, on November 21 the spark had been touched off by the well publicized murder of the Free-State settler Dow and the subsequent arrest of his friend Branson for uttering too many threats of revenge. The swift movement of events during the next two weeks, though bloodless and inconclusive, have been glorified as the “Wakarusa War,” and by at least one writer as the beginning of the Civil War.⁶⁴

Pomeroy at this time was making frequent trips to Kansas City, presumably on Aid Company business. On December 5 he was in Lawrence where he reported that he had been attacked at Westport but had frightened away his assailants with his pistol, and later on the same journey had escaped another band of ruffians only by

60. “EAP,” “Lawrence Letters,” p. 98.

61. Pomeroy, “Reminiscences,” p. 114.

62. Gihon, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

63. This statement is an assumption based on the entry for December 8, in the diary of Mrs. Asahel G. Allen, of near Fort Riley. A circular from Lawrence had been received, she wrote, signed by “Dr. Roberson and others,” and asking help in defending their rights. “A collision is expected at Lawrence.” (The diary is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.)

64. Speer, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

fording the river three times.⁶⁵ The Proslavery men in Kansas City were bitterly opposed to the Emigrant Aid Company and its work. Pomeroy, probably because he was better known to them than the other agents, was the chief object of their hatred.

The mobilization of a Proslavery "army" at Franklin, a village about three miles southeast of Lawrence, occasioned the Free Staters great concern. It was believed that the Missourians if they did not actually attack Lawrence would besiege the town and attempt to starve the residents into surrender.⁶⁶ Word must be sent to Washington and Pomeroy volunteered to carry the message.

He planned his route through Iowa, by way of Kansas City, and decided to disguise himself by becoming the Rev. Moses Brown, a Baptist clergyman attempting to raise funds for the Indian mission.⁶⁷ However, the scheme failed. He was arrested in the Delaware reserve by a Proslavery party and taken to the camp at Franklin where he was held prisoner several days until the "war" was ended.⁶⁸

The treaty of Lawrence, signed on December 9 by Governor Shannon and the Free-State leaders, restored peace temporarily. The prisoners at Franklin were released and partisans of both sides "broke bread" at Lawrence where the women had spent an entire morning preparing food. High feeling, of course, could not so easily be dissipated and considerable antagonism was shown, particularly toward Sheriff Jones, the only Missourian present. However, the meeting passed without accident.⁶⁹

Both sides realized that the truce effected by the treaty could not last. Senator Atchison, one of the most influential among the Proslavery party, had coöperated in the adjustment, but believed that war would come within a year. He said the men of the border counties in Missouri were prepared and he appealed to the Southern states for more men and arms.⁷⁰ At the same time, December 9, on behalf of the Free-State party the executive committee of the Topeka government sent five delegates to the East "to urge the cause of Kansas upon the people." Seven additional representatives sent

65. [Mrs. Hannah A. Ropes], *Six Months in Kansas*. By a Lady. (Boston, 1856), pp. 131-133. This melodramatic story is generally corroborated by Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-202, and Sara T. D. Robinson, "The Wakarusa War," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, pp. 465-466.

66. Sarah Robinson, *loc. cit.*, p. 466.

67. "Reminiscences," pp. 100-101, 113; Ropes, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Holloway, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

68. G. Douglas Brewerton, *The War in Kansas . . .* (New York, 1856), pp. 81-86.

69. [Ropes], *op. cit.*, pp. 142-146.

70. "Reminiscences," p. 114. Cf., Malin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 299-301.

east on January 16, 1856, were instructed not to ask for contributions of money, but to urge the creation of a fund by the citizens of the various states to be used in defending the Free-Soilers "against foreign invasion" and in protecting their "lives and property from lawless depredations."⁷¹

Pomeroy described the war as a glorious triumph for the Free Staters, since Shannon had sent the government troops back to Missouri and had legalized all the acts of the Lawrence men. But he admitted that the war had cost the Free-State party more than \$20,000 and appealed for help in behalf of the "poor soldiers who have lost everything in defending Lawrence and themselves."⁷²

A few days after peace was made Pomeroy went to Boston. Secretary Webb had written on December 6 in regard to conditions there and had asked him to come east as soon as possible.⁷³ He left on December 15, traveling under the name of Sam Clarke and claiming to be a Baptist preacher.⁷⁴ Weather conditions made traveling difficult and four days later he had only reached Booneville. In a letter to Webb he remarked that "the War excitement has subsided," and commented that he "never saw a set of men who felt completely *Sold out*, as do these Missourians." He had stopped overnight at the City Hotel in Lexington and there he had met the captain of the mounted troop which captured him two weeks before. The captain insisted that they have a supper together with thirty or forty other officers who had come to Lexington for court week. Pomeroy consented and they sat down at eleven o'clock and ate and drank until three in the morning. Pomeroy took occasion to make a forty-five minute speech on the right of the Free Staters to make Kansas free. The slavery men, he wrote, acknowledged that they were beaten and laid all the blame on Governor Shannon, remarking bitterly upon what they considered his pusillanimous conduct. In fact those present voted that "'as Governor Shannon had denied his ever having been presented with a *petty coat*' Be it '*Resolved*, that the president of Circle *be*, and hereby is requested to present him

71. "The Topeka Movement," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 148, 150, 152, cited by Ralph V. Harlow, "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," in *American Historical Review*, v. XLI, No. 1 (October, 1935), p. 8.

72. Pomeroy to ——, Kansas, Mo., December 12; in "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. I, pp. 223-224.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

74. Brewerton, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81. See, also, pp. 81-86. Brewerton met Pomeroy at Lexington, Mo., on December 16, and describes him as a "burly, black-smithy looking dark-complexioned individual, . . . the cynosure of every eye. . . ." He adds that as far as the alias was concerned Pomeroy might have spared himself the trouble, for a great many men there recognized him.

one as expressive of our sense of Generalship in the negotiations which terminated the late war in Kansas.''"⁷⁵

On December 25 he was in St. Louis. His thoughts had evidently been dwelling on his experiences of the preceding weeks for he wrote: all the *labor* and *fatigue*, sacrifices and struggles, hopes and fears, and the doubtful, *awful* suspense can *never, never be known*. During the five nights *I lay only 10 miles from Lawrence, yet could not be there, I vowed in my innermost soul, and sealed it with burning teardrops*, that whatever might be the fate of our *budding, hopeful City—young and beautiful—I never would surrender, or cease my efforts, till shouts of victorious freemen could go up from every Prairie height [sic], and hear the returning echo from every valley deep,—that "Kansas is free, and Missouri is humbled."*

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75. Pomeroy to Webb, Boonville, Mo., December 19; in correspondence, "EAP."

76. Pomeroy to — —, St. Louis, Mo., December 25; in "Records of Exec. Comm." v. II, pp. 11-12.

(To be concluded in the November Quarterly.)

The Policing of the Frontier by the Army, 1860-1870

RAYMOND L. WELTY

THE outposts of civilization on the frontier during the decade 1860-1870 created an extremely unpleasant duty for the army. Here, beyond the pale of organized civil law and stable social institutions, the army represented the power of established order. Policing the frontier, in the sense used in this article, applies to the work of the army in protecting the Indian reservations and land grants from the encroachment of white settlers; in protecting government property and officials, especially at the Indian reservations; moving and keeping the Indians on their reservations; aiding the friendly Indians and protecting them from the raids of hostile Indians; enforcing the laws of the United States where the civil authorities were entirely lacking or where they were deficient in the stability and strength needed to perform their functions; and, furnishing protection and aid for governmental and quasi-public activities.

The variety of duties involved under this heading and the wide area over which they were performed make it impossible to do more than sketch the activities of the army in this connection. The importance of this work is indicated by the following survey of the troops and posts engaged in this work in 1868. During this year 25,601 troops of the regular army were on the frontier: 10,691 guarding and policing the frontier; 6,824 operating against the Indians and policing the frontier; 657 guarding the Union Pacific railroad and policing the frontier; 2,119 operating directly against the Indians; 405 guarding the Union Pacific railroad; 3,553 operating against the Indians and guarding the Union Pacific railroad; and 1,352 guarding traffic on the Missouri river.¹

Although all these troops might be called upon to do police duty on the frontier, the vast majority came from the first three groups, which totaled 18,172. Of these about 1,500 were engaged as reconstruction garrisons in Texas, and somewhat over 1,500 were garrisoned in Alaska or on the Pacific coast line. The remaining 15,000, who were engaged primarily in policing, received some aid from the other 7,429 troops on the frontier. These were stationed in eighteen posts on the Texas frontiers; two in the Indian territory, seven in

1. *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 7, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 10.

Kansas, four in the territory of Colorado, twelve in the territory of New Mexico, thirteen in the territory of Arizona, seven in California, seven in Oregon, one in the territory of Washington, four in the territory of Idaho, six in Nevada, one in the territory of Utah, three in the territory of Montana, three in the territory of Wyoming, one in Nebraska, five in the territory of Dakota, and two in Minnesota, a total of ninety-six posts out of the grand total of 121 frontier posts.²

The protection of the Indian reservations from the encroachments of white settlers was very difficult. In fact, the government of the United States, at times, was as guilty as the frontiersmen. The opening of the Bozeman trail and the construction of three posts, Fort Reno, Fort Phil Kearney and Fort C. F. Smith, along its route were all contrary to justice and treaty rights.³ When the Indian title to the land was not respected by the government it was very difficult to make the frontiersman understand the need of respecting it. The settlers thought the land should belong to those who could develop it; to let good land lie idle, to be used only for the chase, was beyond their conception of the occupation and the right to the soil. When the tide of advancing settlements reached the Indian reservations the settlers crowded around and began to petition their congressmen or delegates to congress to have the government remove these Indians from what they called the path of civilization. Usually sufficient pressure was mustered and the Indian bureau would be instructed to make a treaty of removal.⁴ The agents of the Indian bureau would bribe a few chiefs to sign the treaty and the Indians were then moved to some new place, often against the wish of the majority of the tribe. The result was starvation, decimation and death to tribes who had become victims to the advancing tide of settlement.⁵

When the government attempted to live up to its agreements with the Indians it called upon the army to protect them at vital points of exposure. Only one or two incidents will be given to illustrate the character of this duty. The Osage Indians made a treaty in 1865 in which they agreed to move from Kansas and settle on a new reservation, if it could be provided for them, in the Indian

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-10; *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1868, v. I, pp. 732-767.

3. *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 13, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 66-67.

4. Cf. "Resolutions of the Legislature of Kansas," *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 55, 41 Cong., 2 Sess.; "Memorial of the Legislature of Oregon," *House Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 77, 41 Cong., 3 Sess.; "Memorial of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon," *ibid.*, No. 19, 41 Cong., 3 Sess.

5. *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 13, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 69-73.

territory.⁶ According to an agreement made by the Indian bureau their land and other Indian lands in Kansas were sold to land corporations or granted to railroads with every indication of graft. The price at which the land was sold was an injustice to the Indians and the sale of the land to corporations was an injustice to the squatters who had settled upon the land expecting to buy it for \$1.25 per acre.⁷

As soon as the treaty providing for the sale of the lands had been made, settlers started to enter the reservation, which displeased the Indians. Some of the settlers even seized the Indians' farms and houses so as to be able to secure the best locations when the land was opened for sale. This and the starving condition of the Indians —due to no crops—caused disturbances, and the Indian agent appealed to the military authorities.⁸ The corporations which had bought the Indian lands from under the squatters were also very anxious that the squatters be driven off the land.⁹ Gen. U. S. Grant was directed by the Secretary of War to remove them. Gen. P. H. Sheridan sent Col. M. V. Sheridan with a detachment to remove all squatters from the Indian lands in Kansas. Gov. Samuel Crawford of Kansas asked General Grant not to execute the order, for it would cause unnecessary hardships for the settlers and would be of no aid to the Indians.

The order, because of Crawford's intercession, was suspended and the troops were recalled. This allowed the squatters more time to move or permitted them to buy their lands from the corporations that held them.¹⁰ The result of withdrawing the troops from the reservations is indicated by the following report by General Sheridan:

During the last year [1869], as soon as I withdrew the troops from the Sac and Fox reservation [in Kansas], the emigrants took possession. A flood of immigration, almost ten thousand strong, moved in solid mass and occupied the Osage reservation, because there were no troops to keep them off. All the other reservations on which the Indians may yet be placed will be lost in the same manner, unless guarded by the military.¹¹

The Big Horn expedition incident illustrated the work of the army in protecting the rights of the Indians. A party was organized at Cheyenne, in the territory of Wyoming, for the purpose of exploring

6. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), v. II, pp. 673-676.

7. Crawford, Samuel J., *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 299-316; Abel, Anna Heloise, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," *Kansas Historical Collections* (1903-1904), v. VIII, pp. 107-109.

8. *House Executive Documents*, No. 321, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1-3.

9. Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

11. *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 269, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 71.

and eventually settling the country east of the Big Horn mountains. The party became known as the Big Horn expedition and attracted a considerable number of people. By the Shoshoni treaty of 1868 the Big Horn country was reserved exclusively for Indian hunting purposes and all other persons were prohibited from entering.¹² The members of the expedition tried to secure permission from the government to enter this region. The government refused, but finally gave it permission to go to the Sweetwater mining region, provided it did not interfere or trespass upon the Indian reservation.

The leaders of the expedition pledged themselves to Gen. C. C. Augur that they would not enter the lands reserved for the use of the Indians. However, instead of stopping at the Sweetwater mines they proceeded, regardless of the agreement of the leaders, into the Shoshoni reservation. Fortunately the Shoshoni were absent and made no remonstrance. General Augur, upon notice of the broken promise, sent a troop of cavalry in pursuit of the party. The detachment overtook them north of the reservation near Grey Bull river. The officer in charge of the troops found the expedition so demoralized and discouraged as to be on the point of dissolution, and because of this decided to let it dissolve itself rather than use force. The result justified the wisdom of the commander, for the expedition soon broke up and its members either went to the Montana mines or returned to the Sweetwater river mines.¹³ General Augur reported that the expedition did not anger the Indians and the efforts of the government had a "general good effect upon the Indians, which must always result from a faithful observance of our treaty stipulations with them."¹⁴

The removing of settlers was not a pleasant duty for the officers and men of the army. They preferred to prevent the settlers from going into the Indian lands rather than to try to put them off after they were already located. The military authorities tried to prevent these encroachments whenever possible. An expedition to the Black Hills in 1868 was stopped by a notice that it was unlawful and that force, if necessary, would be used to enforce the law.¹⁵ But when the tide of emigrants once started toward an Indian reservation the army was mere chaff before the wind and had to give in. The civil authorities were powerless in such cases and the military force could only stop the rush by bloodshed. The result was that settlers

12. Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 786-789.

13. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, pp. 33-34.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

15. *Ibid.*, 1868, v. I, pp. 36-37.

eventually had their own way and the army could only diplomatically soften the injustice to the Indians by holding off the settlers until the Indians could be moved or would agree to give up some of their land.

The army was often called upon to protect the civil agents and the government property (annuity goods for the Indians or buildings and storehouses of the agency) at the Indian reservations. If the Indian agents were located at or near permanent military posts the army seldom had to give protection, but if the agencies were located at some distance from the posts the army was called upon to furnish escorts and temporary garrisons in case of threat of hostility or any condition of disorder. They were especially needed at the time of the disbursement of annuities. The army, by its mere presence, gave order and dispatch to the business of carrying on the Indian affairs. The best illustrations of this duty were the temporary posts at the agencies established along the Missouri river.¹⁶

The reservation was the last ditch for the wild Indians. The army forced them on the reservations and they were kept there by the troops until they became more fixed in their habits.¹⁷ It was impossible to station enough troops around the reservation to prevent the Indians from stealing out and at times robbing and even murdering their neighbors. The troops usually had no control within the reservation unless the civil authorities requested aid because of the lawless character of the whole tribe. The problem of the army was not so much to keep the Indian tribe as a whole on the reservation as it was to prevent the lawless element escaping from the reservation to commit crimes, returning to the reservation as a place of safety.¹⁸

The difficulty of keeping the Indians on the reservations is illustrated by the raids on the frontier of Texas by the Kiowa and Comanche from their reservations near Fort Sill, Indian territory. The settlers claimed that the Indians were armed, clothed and protected by the Indian agents for their raids on the settlements in Texas. The Indian agents denied that the Indians were guilty and refused to assist the settlers in recovering any stolen property.¹⁹ Col. B. H. Grierson, at Fort Sill, near the Texas frontier, was blamed for this condition. But he could not prevent these outlaw incursions

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36; *ibid.*, 1869, v. I, pp. 58-59; *ibid.*, 1870, pp. 24-26; *Report of the Secretary of Interior*, 1870, v. I, pp. 671-687.

17. *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 269, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 71.

18. *Secretary of War, Report*, 1870, pp. 8-9, 19-21.

19. "Memorial of 350 Citizens of . . . Texas," *House Misc. Docs.*, No. 142, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1-7.

because he could not arrest or punish the guilty parties except when they were outside the reservation. And this was an impossibility, for the outlaws would slip out, and if they were pursued would retreat to the reservation.²⁰

The protection of the friendly Indians on the reservations from the raids of hostile wild Indians was another duty of the army. During this decade, 1860 to 1870, it was common for small bands among the wild tribes to take up the ways of the white civilization. They would locate on reservations and start to farm and raise livestock. The "blanket Indians" of their own tribe resented their treasonable secession and indicated their disapproval by interfering with the "farmer." Also the hereditary enemies of the tribes on the reservations often continued to make war. If the war spirit was mutual the government seldom interfered. In fact, as in the case of the Osage and Pawnee, it employed them to make war in the capacity of scouts and organized troops against their old enemies the Cheyenne and Sioux. In case the reservation Indians wished to remain at peace the government was bound to protect them. If it did not the hostile Indians would steal and destroy the property furnished by the government to aid them in farming and in the work of civilization.²¹

One of the many reservations subject to the attacks of hostile Sioux was the Fort Berthold agency in the territory of Dakota. The wild Sioux planned to attack the agency at Fort Berthold during the winter of 1869 while the majority of the warriors were away on a hunt. Maj. S. A. Wainwright, the commanding officer at Fort Stevenson, which was near by, heard of the expected attack and the helpless condition of the agency. He sent a piece of artillery, which was placed in an old dirt lodge. When the Sioux charged the village they were met with grape and canister and fled in a panic.²²

The army also aided the Indians by issuing subsistence to them. Rations were often issued not only to prevent starvation but also to prevent hostilities or depredations which followed if the Indian had to choose between starving or stealing. The instinct of preservation among the Indians was as strong if not stronger than among civilized people. The Indians in their wild state usually depended upon the fall hunt for their meager supply of food for the winter. If they suffered a failure of crops or were prevented from hunting buffalo

20. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, p. 9.

21. For illustrations see *ibid.*, 1860, pp. 216-217; *ibid.*, 1869, v. I, p. 58; *ibid.*, 1870, pp. 26, 55-57; *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1870, v. I, pp. 671-687.

22. Taylor, Joseph Henry, *Sketches of Frontier and Indian Life on the Upper Missouri and Great Plains* (Bismarck, 1897), p. 99.

by hostile Indians the government was morally bound to feed them. The Indian bureau was directly responsible for these needy Indians, but as a rule the bureau neither had the subsistence nor was it in a position to obtain food in sufficient quantities to aid materially. The army issued large quantities of condemned army rations to the Indians in order to keep them friendly or prevent starvation. When usable rations were issued in large quantities the cost was charged to the Indian bureau or presented as a separate bill to congress for payment.

Large issues of food were made to the Indians near Forts Totten, Rice, Sully and Randall during the winter of 1867-1868, by order of General Sherman, in order to keep peace until a more permanent arrangement could be made by the peace commissioners.²³ The subsistence issued by the commissary department of the army to the Indians for the years 1867, 1868, 1869 and 1870 cost \$644,439, \$373,-926, \$150,000, and \$1,600,000, respectively. In 1869 the sum of \$150,000 was spent to feed starving Indians, and in 1870 the total issue was charged to the Indian bureau.²⁴

General Sherman was placed in control of the Plains Indians in 1868. By his orders²⁵ the military commanders of the departments, districts and posts were charged with the peace and the policing of the frontier and were to be the agents for the Plains Indians. They afforded the Indians temporary support in conducting them to their reservations, but no supplies were issued outside their reservations, except for services rendered the government or to Indians in distress and enroute to their proper homes. Sherman directed that:

When Indians are on reservations, with civilian agents actually present with them, no interferences will be made; but military commanders may note any neglects or irregularities on the part of said Indians or their agents, and will report the same for the information of the government.²⁶

For the operation of this system the Plains Indians were divided into five districts, with an officer of high rank in charge of each district, who selected a disbursing officer for carrying out the work.

The supplies issued to the Indians were beef cattle, meat, grain and bread, coffee and sugar in exceptional cases, clothing for the old and young, and seed and agricultural tools. These supplies came from places where they were purchased most economically. The disbursing officers could purchase from the army depots, post com-

23. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1868, v. I, p. 36.

24. *Ibid.*, 1867, v. I, p. 9; *ibid.*, 1868, v. I, p. 961; *ibid.*, 1870, pp. 267-268.

25. From "General Orders No. 4," Division of the Missouri, St. Louis, August 10, 1868, found in *ibid.*, 1868, v. I, pp. 8-9.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

missaries and quartermasters any surplus article of food, corn, clothing, harness, condemned wagons, horses, mules, and oxen that were on hand or which had been condemned by a board of survey or an inspector. The price was to be the same as the cost to the government or at a valuation fixed by the board of survey or inspector. All issues to the Indians were witnessed by an officer of a rank not lower than a captain and these issues conformed as nearly as possible with the treaties of peace made by the peace commission, whether the treaties had been confirmed or not. General Sherman was given \$500,000 to carry out the work. This arrangement was only temporary, although the subsistence for tribes, hostile or wild, was furnished until June 30, 1870, through the agency of the commissary department—a method more economical and satisfactory.²⁷

The illicit trade in powder, arms and whisky with the Indians was difficult to check on the frontier. The military authorities assisted the civil authorities in driving the outlaws of this trade out of the country. The Indian tribes near the Canadian border were especially exposed. Half-breeds among these tribes and others from Canada conducted a very profitable trade by using Canada both as a basis of operation and as a place of refuge. These traders moved among the Indian tribes on both sides of the boundary line. A camp of half-breeds which was established on the Little Muddy river was broken up in 1868 by a detachment from Fort Buford.²⁸ Gen. W. S. Hancock reported that fifty or sixty of these traders were located at one time on Mouse river during the winter of 1868-1869 and that a fort was needed on that river to stop this trade.²⁹

The legislature of Minnesota petitioned congress for the establishment of a military post at Pembina because of the revolution in the Red river valley and the apprehension of incursions by renegade hostile Sioux who had been driven to Canada from Minnesota and the territory of Dakota in 1862 and 1863.³⁰ Congress appropriated \$50,000 for the construction of a post and by the fall of 1870 it was practically completed.³¹ The post aided materially in the control of this illicit trade from Canada.

The general policing of the frontier required of the army the enforcing of the law and the maintaining of order. A few illustrations of this duty will be given. Gen. G. Dodge removed squatters from

27. Secretary of the Interior, *Report*, 1869, p. 447; Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, pp. 267-268.

28. *Ibid.*, 1868, v. I, p. 34.

29. *Ibid.*, 1869, v. I, p. 64.

30. *House Misc. Docs.*, No. 116 (2), 41 Cong., 2 Sess.

31. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, pp. 27-28.

the Union Pacific railroad lands on the Delaware reservation in 1865.³² The rapid growth of boom towns along the railroad which preceded the stable organization of society and law were at times held in check by the military authorities.³³ The federal government was often called upon to furnish support to the state governments in order to maintain law and order. The frontier states and territories with their unstable society were in greater need of military forces to aid the civil authorities to maintain order. An instance of this is the request of the governor of Nevada in 1869 for troops to prevent organized bodies of men in that state from driving out the Chinese laborers. The feeling against the Chinese was very bitter and two companies of the First cavalry were sent to Camps Halleck and McDermit to be ready for trouble. Their presence quieted the disturbance.³⁴

In outlining the duties of the army in the military department of Dakota, General Sherman declared:

Commanding officers of these posts or stations will act against all people who violate the laws of congress, or who endanger the lives or property of our people, be they white, black, or copper-colored. When there are no courts or civil authorities to hold and punish such malefactors, we must of necessity use the musket pretty freely; the only weapon with which the soldier ought to deal. Peaceful people, whites, blacks, or Indians, will be left to be dealt with by the civil authorities and agents.³⁵

The growth of the cattle industry in Texas gave rise to a new duty for the army. After the construction of the Kansas Pacific railroad the ranchers of Texas found it profitable to market their cattle by driving them overland to Abilene and to other towns on the railroad, from whence they could be shipped to Eastern markets. The common route at first was the Chisholm trail extended to Abilene, but later this indefinite route from Texas to the nearest railroad town in Kansas became known as the Texas trail. The number of Texas cattle driven over the trail increased from 300,000 in 1866 to 600,000 in 1871. Military escorts were furnished, if possible, when needed to aid in the protection of the herds from hostile Indians. In 1870 Col. J. J. Reynolds, commanding officer of the Department of Texas, reported that:

The permission granted under date of February 9, 1870, to furnish military escorts to cattle drovers northward from Fort Richardson [Texas] has been

32. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, v. XLVIII, Pt. II, pp. 784, 806, 807.

33. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1867, v. I, p. 37; Beadle, J. H., *The Undeveloped West or Five Years in the Territories* (Philadelphia, 1873), pp. 88-90.

34. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1869, v. I, pp. 113-114.

35. *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 7, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1-2.

used to the great benefit of traders in that direction. Disturbances from Indians were entirely averted during the last summer's trade, and that route may be considered as established and safe, with an occasional escort.³⁶

The exploring and surveying of the West depended to a large extent on the protection afforded by the army and to the work of the army itself. The exploration of the country in the immediate vicinity of an army post was usually left to the garrison under the direction of the officer in charge. This was a military necessity because of the need of a thorough knowledge of the country. The extent to which exploration was carried on depended upon the knowledge already possessed of the region and also upon the time which the post might have free to do this work. Often the duties of escorting, fort building and other fatigue work required all the time of the garrison.

New routes to the West and the improvement of the routes already in use was of special interest to the United States government. The laying out and the constructing of military roads became one of the chief functions of the army. The work was usually carried on by the engineers. The army furnished escorts to protect the engineers and the laborers engaged in this work. During this period there were also numerous explorations and surveys for railroads.

The reconnaissance of the Comanche trail by Lt. W. H. Echols, during the summer of 1860, was an example of an exploring expedition. Echols, who was a topographical engineer, with an escort of thirty-two troops under Lt. H. H. Holman, was instructed to make a thorough examination of the country between Fort Stockton, Texas, and the Rio Grande on each side of the San Carlos trail. Echols was furnished with twenty camels and twenty-five mules well equipped and with the necessary persons to take care of his train. The expedition lasted from June 20 to August 15. The party suffered considerably in the deserts; the camels went without water five days and probably saved the lives of the party. The result of the expedition was the securing of valuable geographical knowledge of the country although a desirable route for a trail or a site for a post was not found.³⁷

The Niobrara road expedition illustrates the work of the army in laying out and working the roads or trails on the frontier. James A. Sawyer was placed in charge of the construction of a wagon road from Niobrara City, territory of Nebraska, to Virginia City, terri-

36. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1870, p. 42; also see Rollins, P. A., *The Cowboy* (New York, 1922), pp. 10-11.

37. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1860, pp. 36-51. For use of camels in the army see Lumis, Charles F., "Pioneer Transportation in America," *McClure's Magazine*, v. XXVI (October, 1905), pp. 90-92; *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 62, 34 Cong., 3 Sess.

tory of Montana. His party consisted of fifty-three men with forty-five yokes of oxen, five horses, five mules, and subsistence for six months. His military escort was composed of 143 men—two companies of Fifth United States volunteers, and one company of the First Dakota cavalry. Five emigrant wagons and thirty-six wagons belonging to a freight company which were bound for the Montana mines accompanied the expedition. The expedition started June 13, 1865, and after traveling 1,039 miles arrived at Virginia City, on October 12. The route explored was along the Niobrara, South Cheyenne and North Cheyenne rivers; then by the way of Powder, Tongue, Big Horn and Yellowstone rivers to Virginia City. The route lay in the region controlled by the hostile Sioux and northern Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes. Although the train was attacked several times by Indians it was able to pass through. Sawyer had some difficulty with the commander of his escort, who when they reached Powder river refused to escort the train farther. Luckily they found Fort Connor on the west side of Powder river, where a new escort was furnished by General Connor, at that time conducting an expedition in that region. The new escort assisted Sawyer safely to the Big Horn river and from there only eight men were needed to escort the train to Virginia City. The casualties among the troops and train were one death from disease and thirty-one killed and wounded. The results were meager. The route was soon abandoned because it was not so good as the Platte route and it was impossible to use it because of the continued hostilities of the Sioux.³⁸

The surveyors of the public lands also required the protection of the army. The surveying of the wilderness in preparation for the coming tide of settlement was dangerous work on the Plains, exposed not only to the hardships of the frontier but also to the raids of Indians. Gen. C. C. Augur, commanding the Department of the Platte, reported, in 1869:

I have had many applications from surveyors of public lands for escorts to enable them to fill their contracts, and I have furnished them in all cases where it was possible for me to do so. I have in other cases issued them arms and ammunition, under proper guarantees for the return of the arms.³⁹

The protection and aid of these public and quasi-public works was an important function of the army. The aid which the army could

38. Report on "Wagon Road From Niobrara to Virginia City," *House Ex. Docs.*, No. 58, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1-32. For illustrations of other explorations and surveys see Secretary of War, *Report*, 1861, pp. 122-126, 528-569; *Senate Ex. Docs.*, No. 43, 37 Cong., 3 Sess.; Reynolds, W. F., *Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River* (Washington, 1868).

39. Secretary of War, *Report*, 1869, v. I, p. 74.

give in subsistence, supplies, munitions, geographical information and protection by escorts on the frontier far away from civilization and regular society facilitated and made possible much of this work which otherwise would have been either impossible to perform or delayed for many years to await the subjection or civilization of the hostile Indians on the Plains.

Kansas Play-Party Songs

MYRA E. HULL

I. INTRODUCTION

"KANSAS Play-Party Songs" is a part of a collection of songs which I began to set down in 1929, as a memorial to my mother, Eliza Sinclair Hull, and her singing life. For eighty years there was always a song on her lips and in her heart. Through all the hardships of pioneer life, through the drudgery of rearing a family of seven, she sang. Her first song, in 1849, was

Oh, Susannah, don't you cry for me;
I'm going to California, the gold mines to see.

Her last song, in 1929, was "Old Black Joe."¹

She sang every manner of song: Old World lullabies; old camp-meeting hymns; political songs from Andrew Jackson to Bryan; innumerable Civil War songs; popular songs of her girlhood, such as "Eulalie," "Bonnie Eloise," "Annie Lisle," "In the Hazel Dell," "Listen to the Mocking Bird," "The Carrier Dove," "Bird of Beauty," and "Rosalie, the Prairie Flower." She sang airs from grand opera, lovely Swiss mountain songs, and old Scotch songs. Many of these I set down as they occurred to me.

It was Dr. R. W. Gordon, of the American Folklore archives of the Library of Congress, who suggested to me, in 1930, that I might make a more valuable contribution to literature if from these songs I should select the quaint folk songs and ballads that I had been recollecting from my childhood. From this beginning I have already recorded more than a hundred and fifty folk songs, most of them my mother's, and I feel that I have only combed the surface.

Both words and music have all been set down by me exactly as I heard them sung, without any emendations or corrections. Their sources are as follows: First, they are largely from my own native community, Richland township, Butler county, to which my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Byram Hull, came as homesteaders in 1873, bringing with them a rich contribution of songs, many of which had

1. This heritage of song has greatly enriched the lives of the children of Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Hull: Arthur Sinclair Hull, who died September 3, 1937; O. J. Hull, Ontario, Cal.; J. M. Hull, Bonner's Ferry, Idaho; M. L. Hull, Wichita; Myra E. Hull, Lawrence; Hazel Hull Cook, Boulder, Colo., and Lois Fern Hull, Pueblo, Colo. Their uncles, W. B. Hull and Tom Sinclair, were also a part of the family in pioneer days and contributed largely to the music of the community, in various social gatherings, such as singing schools, literary societies, and dances. (For a full discussion of pioneer life in this community see Myra E. Hull's article, "Richland Township," in *Butler County's Eighty Years*, edited by Jessie Perry Stratford, El Dorado, 1934.)

come to their home in southern Ohio, with their ancestors from North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, about 1810. Our pioneer Kansas neighbors from the East and the South also brought with them various folk songs, particularly interesting being those of a colony of North Carolina Quakers, who began their settlement near the present town of Rose Hill, in 1870. Other songs were contributed by the family of Leroy W. Cook, who pioneered in Stevens county. They, too, were Quakers, originally from North Carolina. From a third community, Lawrence, I have secured several folk songs: from Mrs. Harriet Pugh Tanner, whose songs came with her family from Highpoint, N. C., in 1871; from Hannah Oliver, who came to Lawrence from England eighty years ago; and from Marcia Carter, a teacher in the Lawrence public schools. A very valuable contribution is that of Freda Butterfield, a student in the University of Kansas, whose songs are still sung at play parties in her community, near Iola. Miss Butterfield has also furnished directions for playing the games.

I mention specifically the places from which the ballads came because their migration is a matter of importance to the history of folk ballads.

No song in this collection has been obtained from a printed copy in any other collection, and no song is exactly like any of the variants in the fifty other collections with which my songs have been compared. These songs are called Kansas songs because they have been sung by Kansas folk since pioneer days, some of them for more than sixty years.

In the matter of preparing this collection I am indebted to Harold Spivacke, acting director of the music division of the Library of Congress, and to Alan Lomax, also of the Library, for their encouragement and advice. I am greatly indebted to the graduate research committee of the University of Kansas and to the college student employment project, whose funds enabled me to prepare the music manuscripts for publication, final revisions having been made by Harold Lynn Hackler, a student in the school of fine arts in the University of Kansas.

I am especially grateful to Kirke Mechem and to Nyle H. Miller of the Kansas State Historical Society for their interest and encouragement in the publication of this article.

II. KANSAS PLAY-PARTY SONGS

The play-party song is perhaps the best example at the present time of the American folk song as a living, growing song. It still flourishes in its most typical milieu, remote rural sections, such as the inaccessible Appalachian and Ozarks regions; it has in recent years enjoyed a popular revival among more sophisticated young people; and it has always been kept alive in its simplest forms in the singing games of school children.

The folk song is, first of all, traditional; that is, it has been handed down solely by word of mouth, from generation to generation for so long that its origin has been lost in antiquity. Some of the songs in this collection were old in the days of Oliver Cromwell. Some have been in my own family for at least five generations. What the original form was no one knows. Hence the folk song is usually anonymous. In some remote time, some "idle singer of an empty day" more gifted than his fellows, struck it off, in a moment of inspiration, perhaps with others in his company adding a line or a refrain. Since it was transmitted orally, often from people who could not write to people who could not read, changes and alterations were always taking place, so that of the numerous parallels that a given song may have, no two are ever exactly alike. Changes may arise because some transmitter did not understand what he heard; such an example of folk etymology is pointed out later in "King William Was King James's Son." Other changes may come from the singer's supplying phrases or lines to fill in forgotten passages; or sometimes a well-meaning singer takes it upon himself to correct the grammar or diction of the song, thereby complicating greatly the task of the ballad collector, who is attempting to trace the growth and evolution of the song.

The joyous, natural, uninhibited spirit which prevails at the typical play party is highly conducive to spontaneous, extemporeaneous creation. Hence the play-party song furnishes the best example of the folk-song's habit of taking unto itself new and varied lines and stanzas. Evidences of such communal accretions are found among Kansas play-party songs. For example, in "Skip to My Lou" the very exigencies of the moment may lead a nimble-witted player to add a line, such as "Skip a little faster; this will never do!" Then, too, a timely hit or jibe at some participant, such as the parodied stanza in "Oh, Sister Phoebe," may add much to the hilarity of the occasion.

Perhaps at this juncture a word of explanation of the term "play party" may not be amiss. The play party was invented for the benefit of those young people who liked to have a good time, but whose parents did not permit them to go to dances. Fifty years ago, in my native community, near Douglass, the young people were divided into three groups: those who were not allowed to attend any parties, but found their social excitement at literary societies, singing schools, spelling bees, or even in revival meetings; those who attended play parties; and those lost souls who went to dances. As one pious woman testified in meeting, in the characteristic sing-song:

Recitative

There once was a girl that went to par-ties and fro-lics and
dan-ces. And when she died she went to H-E-L!

And from the accounts of my uncles and the other gay young blades who fiddled and called for these dances, perhaps the good sister was not far wrong!

However, in a last analysis, there is little difference between some of the liveliest of the play-party games and the dances. In the choosing of partners, the promenade, and the "Swing your partner," the technique was similar. But yet there was a subtle difference in the atmosphere; and when at the play party, at the suggestion of some stranger or the chance intrusion of that limb of Satan, the fiddler, the line of demarcation was crossed, the young folks as well as their self-appointed chaperones scented the change to dangerous ground immediately. (I am informed that the most objectionable innovation was the manner in which the girl's partner seized her around the waist and gave her a violent "swing.")

The play-party songs are a combination of game, song, dance, and pantomime, these elements varying in importance with the nature of the game. Some of them began, no doubt, as simple children's games, or as outdoor country dance tunes. Others were originally simple songs. But since the folk songs are traditional and anonymous, it is impossible to be certain as to their original forms.

Whatever the method by which they were first combined, the word and the tune are sometimes strangely mated. The tune of

the play-party song is not often original. It may be borrowed from an old ballad air or from another folk song; it may be a popular tune of long ago, such as "The Girl I Left Behind Me"; it may be stage hits of an earlier time, such as "Ta-ra-ra Boom-de-ay"; it may even utilize a hymn tune, like "Consolation"; but the commonest source is the popular fiddle and dance tune, such as "Pop, Goes the Weasel," "Old Dan Tucker," and "My Father and Mother Were Irish."

In many of the play-party games, the different changes are directed by the words of the song. For example, in "Pig in the Parlor,"

It's the right hand to your pardner,
The left hand to your neighbor;
The right hand to your pardner,
And all promenade, . . .

the play is obvious, taking the place of the "calling" at the dance, which may run something like this:

Honor your pardner, left hand lady;
Join eight hands and circle around.

In some play-party songs, the words are not sufficient to keep the game moving. At such a time a leader takes charge, as in the complicated game, "U-Tan-U."

Perhaps further explanation of the play-party game will not be necessary here, as detailed instructions for playing accompany a number of the songs.

Since children's singing games are so closely related to certain types of party games, a few of these heard in Kansas during the past fifty years will be considered here. Many of these I learned from my mother; others were sung by the children of Diamond School District No. 78, whose old stone schoolhouse has been a landmark in southern Butler county since 1878.

One of the first games I ever played was taught me by a group of Quaker children whose parents had come to Kansas from North Carolina in 1872, and established the Friends church near what is now Rose Hill. In playing this game, we sat down in a circle, and one child began by carrying on the following conversation with her nearest neighbor:

Toady, toady, how is thee?
I'm as well as I can be.
How's the neighbor next to thee?
Thee stay here and I'll go see.

And so the game continued indefinitely. It was, as I remember it, enjoyment in the lowest key.

However, the version recorded by W. W. Newell, as played by New York and Philadelphia children about 1883, is much livelier: "The question ['Quaker, Quaker, how is thee?'] is accompanied by a rapid movement of the right hand. The second child in the ring inquires in the same manner of the third, and so all round. Then the same question is asked with a like gesture of the left hand, and [continues] . . . with both hands, left foot, right foot, both feet, and finally, by uniting all the motions at once. 'A nice long game.'"² I have recently seen college students play in a similar fashion a singing game called "One finger, one thumb, one hand; keep moving."

Another variant reported by Jean O. Heck, from Whittier school,

Cincinnati, is called "Neighbor, neighbor, how art thee?"³

Numerous other imitative motion songs are sung by Kansas children. Perhaps the most familiar is "The Mulberry Bush," a common version of which is:

1. Here we go round the mulberry bush,
The mulberry bush, the mulberry bush;
Here we go round the mulberry bush,
So early in the morning.
2. This is the way we wash our clothes,
All on a Monday morning.
3. This is the way we iron our clothes,
All on a Tuesday morning.

The song continues with the occupation of each day of the week. Children add verses at will, as "This is the way we wash our hands," or "This is the way we go to school." The old English May Day game, "Here We Go Gathering Nuts in May," is also sung to the same tune.⁴

A similar game, but not so well known, is "I Went to Visit My Friend One Day," the tune of which is that of the hymn, "Consolation Flowing Free."⁵ This particular variant was sung by Lewis Madison Hull, of Nickerson, about 1904.

2. Newell, W. W., *Games and Songs of American Children* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1903), p. 130.

3. Heck, Jean O., "Folk Poetry and Folk Criticism," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, v. 40, p. 25. (Hereafter cited *JAFL*.)

4. The same tune is used later in "Six Little Girls A-Skating Went."

5. Jackson, George Pullen, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933), p. 145.

I WENT TO VISIT MY FRIEND ONE DAY

I went to visit my friend one day;
 She only lives across the way;
 She said she couldn't go out to play
 Because it was her washing day.

Chorus:

And this is the way she washed away,
 And this is the way she washed away,
 And this is the way she washed away,
 The day that she couldn't go out to play.

(The tune of the chorus is the same as that of the stanza. The stanzas and chorus continue with the substitution of the work and corresponding pantomime for each day of the week, as in "Mulberry Bush.")

To the same tune, "Consolation," is the song, "Oats, Peas, Beans, and Barley Grow," as sung by the children in the public schools in Lawrence, at the present time.

1. Oats, peas, beans, and barley grow;
 Oats, peas, beans, and barley grow,
 Can you or I or anyone know
 How oats, peas, beans, or barley grow?
2. Thus the farmer sows his seed,
 Thus he stands and takes his ease;
 He stamps his foot and claps his hands,
 And turns around to view the land.
3. Waiting for a partner,
 Waiting for a partner,
 Open the ring and choose one in
 While we all gaily dance and sing.
4. Now you're married you must obey,
 You must be true to all you say,
 You must be kind, you must be good,
 And keep your wife in kindling wood.⁶

With similar words, but with different tune, is the version of this song given by Mr. Newell, who comments: This song "is still [1883] a favorite in France, Provence, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Germany, and Sweden; it was played by Froissart (born 1337), and Rabelais (born 1483)." Like "Needle's Eye" and numerous other folk songs it may have had its origin in rustic festivities designed to promote fertility of the fields. Mr. Newell further suggests: "It is not in the least unlikely that the original of the present chant was sung . . . by Italian rustics in the days of Virgil."⁷

6. Words contributed by Marcia Carter, Lawrence.

7. Newell, *cp. cit.*, pp. 80-81, 84; Heck, *JAFL*, v. 40, p. 14.

The essential feature of one group of children's singing games is the choosing of a "pardner."⁸ One of the most universal of these, "London Bridge," according to W. W. Newell, has many European variants, some of which are very old, an Italian one, "Guelf or Ghibelline?" going back to the year 1328.⁹

The following version, reported by Marcia Carter, as sung in the public schools of Lawrence, has been sung in various Kansas communities for perhaps fifty years:

LONDON BRIDGE

1. London bridge is falling down,
Falling down, falling down;
London bridge is falling down,
My fair lady.
2. Build it up with iron bars,
Iron bars, iron bars;
Build it up with iron bars,
My fair lady.
3. Iron bars will bend and break;
4. Build it up with gold and silver.
5. Gold and silver'll be stolen away;
6. Get a man to watch all night.
7. Suppose that he should fall asleep;
8. Get a dog to bark all night.
9. Suppose the dog should meet a bone?
10. Get a cock to crow all night.
11. Here's a prisoner I have got;
12. What's the prisoner done to you?
13. Stole my watch and broke my chain;
14. What will you take to set him free?
15. One hundred pounds will set him free.
16. One hundred pounds we have not got;
17. Then off to prison you must go.

More common still is the game, "Needle's Eye," which, like "London Bridge," is played in the following manner: Two children form a high arch with their interlocked hands, under which the other children march, singing. The two leaders let the bars fall, catching the favored one, who is asked to choose between "sun or moon," "gold or silver," etc. According to his choice, he takes his place behind one of the leaders, and the game finally ends with a tug of war.

According to W. W. Newell, "Mrs. Gomme shows that in England the game has in different localities been played on particular days

8. "Pardner," not "partner," is the common pronunciation in the Middle West.
9. Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

of the year by young persons of both sexes, who danced through the streets, collecting numbers as they went, and finally attempted to encircle the village church with joined hands.”¹⁰

NEEDLE'S EYE

The needle's eye that doth supply
The thread that runs so truly,
Many a beau have I let go
Because I wanted you.

Refrain:

And it's you, you, you,
And no one but you,
For many a beau have I let go
Because I wanted you.

Another English game similarly played is “King William Was King James’s Son.” Version “A” here recorded was sung by Hannah Oliver, who brought it from England to Lawrence more than eighty years ago. The game is an old favorite throughout the United States, many versions having been submitted to *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*.¹¹

The song is sung under various names. In W. W. Newell’s versions it appears as “King Arthur Was King William’s Son” and “King William Was King George’s Son.”¹² Mr. Newell gives minute instructions showing how the game was played with hats in England and with a shawl in Ireland. In Kansas and other states in the Middle West, however, the game was a partner-choosing, kissing game.

The song furnishes interesting examples of folk etymology. In Kansas, for “royal race” we sang “lawyer race.” In Idaho, they sing—

Around the *river* race he run;
Upon his breast he wore a star,
Pointing to the *ocean* far.¹³

In the Kansas version “B” the singer, Joyce Harvey, a colored girl of a Lawrence pioneer family in which the song is traditional, seemed somewhat doubtful about “To point the way to Corkery,” but certain about “Riley, Riley, race he run.” In such a manner, lines of folk songs often become meaningless, through oral transmission.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 242. Newell quotes from Alice B. Gomme’s *Old English Singing Games* (London, 1900).

11. Van Doren, Carl, “Some Play-Party Songs From Eastern Illinois,” *JAFL*, v. 32, p. 493.

12. Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

13. Ball, Leona Nessly, “The Play-Party in Idaho,” *JAFL*, v. 44, p. 10. (See also “stout” for “style” in “Captain Jinks,” pp. 272, 273, for another example of folk etymology.)

KING WILLIAM WAS KING JAMES'S SON

“A”

1. King William was King James's son;
Upon the royal race he run.
Upon his breast he wore a star,
To point the way to the contest far.
2. Go choose you east, go choose you west;
Go choose the one that you love best.
If she's not here to take her part,
Go choose another with all your heart.
3. Down on this carpet you must kneel
As sure as the grass grows in the field.
Salute your bride and kiss her sweet,
And now you rise upon your feet.

“B”

King William was King James's son;
Riley, Riley race he run.
Upon his breast he wore a star,
To point the way to Corkery.

My mother used to sing a song, traditional in her family for perhaps a century, which evidently belongs to the rustic motion song group. “Rainin’, Hailin’” is also a play-party game in some parts of the Middle West.¹⁴

RAININ’, HAILIN’

1. Rainin’, hailin’, cold stormy weather;
In steps the farmer, sellin’ out the cider.
2. I’ll be the reaper, and you’ll be the binder;
I’ve lost my true love and don’t know where to find her.

Another motion song, “Draw a Bucket of Water,” a song that has been popular in Kansas schools for fifty years, is played as follows: Two couples join hands independently one of the other. Hands remain joined throughout. As the couples extend their hands thus joined, one pair lies above and across the other. The players now sway forward and backward as they sing:

Draw a bucket of water,
For the farmer’s daughter;
Calico strings and di-a-mond rings,
And let this lady (or fellow) pass under.

With the last words, the couple whose arms are extended just above the other’s raise one arm each (that is, those hands are joined, one player’s right hand thus being joined to his partner’s left), and

^{14.} Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Piper, Edwin F., “Some Play-Party Games of the Middle West,” *JAFL*, v. 28, p. 270.

let one player of the other couple step under. This is repeated, and the other of that same couple is taken in. Then those who are now on the inside take in the other couple by the same method. This has the effect of "braiding" the arms of the players and bringing the players into a solid "sugar bowl" formation. Now the players jump up and down frantically, at the same time attempting to revolve in a circle, as they yell: "Sally in the sugar bowl, Ha, Ha, Ha!"

Perhaps the most interesting of all these songs from a literary point of view is "Old Robin Is Dead." It goes by various names: "Old Rover," "Old Roger," "Old Grampus," "Old Pompey," "Old Cramer," and "Old Johnny." In all probability the original was "Old Cromwell," the song going back to the days of the Commonwealth.¹⁵ The words of variant "A" I heard recited by Alvin Hartenbower, of Douglass, about 1890. Variant "B" was contributed by Marcia Carter, as sung in the schools of Lawrence in 1936.

OLD ROBIN IS DEAD

"A"

1. Old Robin is dead and laid in his grave,
Laid in his grave, laid in his grave;
Old Robin is dead and laid in his grave,
Oh, oh, oh!
2. They buried him under an apple tree, etc.
3. The apples grew ripe over his head, etc.
4. An old woman came a-pickin' 'em up, etc.
5. And Robin got up and gave her a kick, etc.
6. It made the old woman go hippity-hop, etc.

"B"

1. Old Roger is dead and lies in his grave;
Hm! Ha! Lies in his grave.
2. They planted an apple tree over his head, etc.
3. The apples were ripe and ready to drop, etc.
4. There came an old woman a-picking them up, etc.
5. Old Roger got up and gave her a thump, etc.
6. Which made the old woman go hippity-hop, etc.

Among our many game songs which are related to the early English May Day dances belongs my mother's quaint song, traditional in her family for probably a century, "Walking on the Green Grass." I find that a similar game is current among Kansas children at the present time.

15. Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; Hudson, Arthur Palmer, "Ballads and Songs From Mississippi," *JAFSL*, v. 39, p. 167; Heck, *ibid.*, v. 40, p. 76.

The tune given here is not like any other I have found. Its refrain, "Doss, doss, doss," is also unique, but undoubtedly related to the variants of Newell, Botkin, and other collectors. Newell mentions a number of these, such as "Dusty, dusty, day," and "Dust, dust, dust." He believes them all related to the Scotch rhyme,

A dis, a dis, a green grass,
A dis, a dis, a dis.

"A dis" is a derivative of the Scotch word *adist*, from the old English word meaning "come hither." He adds that this is no mere rustic game, but was once danced by ladies of high degree.¹⁶

WALKING ON THE GREEN GRASS

We're walk - ing on the green grass, Doss; doss, doss. Come,
 all ye pret - ty mai - dens, Come walk a - long with us. And
 if you are so fair as I take you for to be, I'll
 take you by your li - ly white hand; Come walk a - long with me.

An immediate forerunner of the play-party game is "Go In and Out the Window," with its intricately weaving circle dance and its choosing of partners. The tune is the old favorite, "We're Marching Round the Levee," or "Walking on the Levy." Jean O. Heck gives the refrain as sung by Cincinnati school children, "For I'm engaged today!"¹⁷

The following is the traditional Kansas version:

16. Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51, 226-227; Botkin, B. A., "The American Play-Party Song," *The University Studies of the University of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Neb., 1937), p. 343; Broadwood, Lucy E., and Maitland, J. A. Fuller, *English County Songs* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), p. 106.

17. Heck, *JAFL*, v. 40, p. 26.

GO IN AND OUT THE WINDOW

1. Go in and out the window,
Go in and out the window,
Go in and out the window,
For we have gained the day.
2. Go forth and choose your lover, (etc.)
For we have gained the day.
3. I kneel because I love you, (etc.)
For we have gained the day.
4. I measure my love to show you, (etc.)
For we have gained the day.

With "Pass One Window, Ti-dee-o," we have definitely arrived at the grownup's play party. Dr. Leroy W. Cook, Boulder, Colo., learned this song at play parties in Stevens county, some thirty years ago. He believes that it came from Missouri, where it has been popular a long time. Mrs. Ames cites a similar version, as do several other collectors, but none are identical with his.¹⁸

PASS ONE WINDOW, TI-DEE-O

Pass one wind-ow, Ti - dee - o, Pass two wind-ows, Ti - dee - o,

Pass three wind-ows, Ti - dee - o, Jing-le at the wind-ow Ti - dee - o.

Swing cen - ter, ba'ance your beau, All go swing-in' to Ti - dee - o.

Ti - dee - o, Ti - dee - o, All go swing-in' to Ti - dee - o.

"Skip to My Lou" is perhaps the best known play-party song in the United States.¹⁹ I heard it more than fifty years ago at the Diamond school in Butler county, and it is still popular. It is one of the best examples of accretions through extemporaneous additions of stanzas.

18. Botkin, *op. cit.*, p. 333; Ames, Mrs. L. D., "The Missouri Play-Party," *JAFL*, v. 24, p. 311.

19. Piper, *ibid.*, v. 28, p. 276; Gardner, Emelyn E., "Some Play-Party Games in Michigan," *ibid.*, v. 33, p. 123; Randolph, Vance, "The Ozark Play-Party," *ibid.*, v. 42, p. 203; Van Doren, Carl, "Some Play-Party Songs From Eastern Illinois," *ibid.*, v. 32, p. 493; Ball, *ibid.*, v. 44, p. 20; Lomax, John A. and Lomax, Alan, *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (New York, Macmillan, 1934), p. 294.

SKIP TO MY LOU

Lit-tle red wa - gon paint-ed blue; Lit-tle red wa - gon paint-ed
 blue, Lit-tle red wa - gon paint-ed blue, Skip to my Lou , my
 Refrain:
 dar - ling. Skip, skip, skip to my Lou, Skip, skip, skip to my
 Lou, Skip, skip, skip to my Lou; Skip to my Lou, my dar - ling.

2. Can't get a red bird, a blue bird'll do.
3. Ma's old boots, pa's old shoe.
4. My wife wears a number ten shoe.
5. Nigger on the woodshed, he fell through.
6. Fly in the biscuit, bit him in two.
7. Everybody skip and I'll skip too.
8. Pretty as a redbird, prettier too.
9. Can't get that'n, another'll do.
(Whenever appropriate.)
10. Skip a little faster; this'll never do.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLAYING "SKIP TO MY LOU."—Couples stand in circle, not holding hands. The boy stands at his partner's left. The skipper stands in the center of the circle. When the players begin singing, as, for instance,

Can't get a red bird, a blue bird'll do, etc.

the skipper skips to someone in the circle and swings this one. Either a boy or girl may skip; when the boy skips, he goes to a girl, of course; and if he succeeds in swinging her before her partner discovers that he *has* skipped to the girl and *is* swinging her, then the partner becomes the skipper, and—to keep the game lively—he quickly skips to another girl, etc. Often much fun is created by the partner who, seeing his girl taken away suddenly, looks around bewildered; and then when the couple stops swinging and the two fall back into the circle, the skipper "snatches" his former partner, and the earlier partner is again "left out in the cold." Of course, if one wishes to lose his partner, the thing to do is to make no effort to keep her. If a girl skips, she goes to the man, and another girl becomes skipper, etc.

If the game seems to drag, the appropriate verse is:

Skip a little faster; this'll never do, etc.

If someone wishes that all should skip, he loudly calls out (and usually others will pick it up):

Everybody skip and I'll skip too, etc.²⁰

Also widely known is the play-party game, "Captain Jinks."²¹ It was a popular stage song during the Civil War. My mother and her sisters used to entertain (1864) the soldier boys at Camp Mitchell, Highland county, Ohio, with a parody of this song, one stanza of which ran:

I'm Mrs. Jinks from Madison Square,
I wear fine clothes and curl my hair;
And how the gentlemen at me stare,
While the Captain's in the army!

As a play-party song, it is still popular throughout the United States. Miss Butterfield's version, the play-party arrangement, varies only slightly from my mother's version.

CAPTAIN JINKS

Cap - tain Jinks, the horse ma- rines; We clap our hands be-

yond our means, and swing that la - dy while in her teens for

that's the stout of the ar - my. We'll all join hands and

sir - cle the left, and cir - cle the left and cir - cle the left; We'll

all join hands and cir - cle the left, For that's the stout of the ar-my.

20. All directions for playing these games were furnished by Freda Butterfield, of Iola, a student in the University of Kansas. She also contributed words and music for the following songs, which are still sung in her community (1937): "Straight Across the Hall," "Swingin' on the Corner," "Jumbo," "U-Tan," "My Brown Jug," and "Playing on the Hills Tonight."

21. *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* references for "Captain Jinks" and "Skip to My Lou" are almost identical. See Footnote 19.

2. Captain Jinks, the ladies' knight,
 The gentleman changes to the right,
 And swings that lady with all his might,
 For that's the stout [style] of the army.
 When I left home my ma she cried,
 My ma she cried, my ma she cried,
 When I left home my ma she cried,
 For that's the stout of the army.

DIRECTIONS FOR "CAPTAIN JINKS."—With hands dropped at their sides couples form a circle and sing:

Captain Jinks of the horse marines,
 We clap our hands beyond our means.

With the word "clap" the players all clap their hands loudly. The boy turns and gaily swings his partner:

And swing that lady while in her teens,
 For that's the stout of the army.

All join hands and, raising them above their heads, circle (skipping if there is room) to the left, singing:

We'll all join hands and circle the left,
 And circle the left, and circle the left;
 We'll all join hands and circle the left,
 For that's the stout of the army.

The gentleman moves to his partner's right. This, of course, involves the girl's stepping to her left and causing the play to go on quickly:

Captain Jinks, the ladies' knight,
 The gentleman changes to the right.

Now the gentleman swings his new partner, the girl who is now at his right:

And swings that lady with all his might,
 For that's the stout of the army.

With the boys on the inside the couples promenade, singing:

When I left home my ma she cried,
 My ma she cried, my ma she cried;
 When I left home my ma she cried,
 For that's the stout of the army.

Now the game is played over and over again, until couples "reach home"; that is, until players are paired off as they were at the very beginning.

Another old favorite is "Pig in the Parlor," sung to the tune of "My Father and Mother Were Irish." This particular version is still popular in southeastern Kansas.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLAYING "PIG IN THE PARLOR."—Couples join hands to form a circle, in the center of which the "pig" (cheater) stands. Circling to the left the players sing:

Oh, we got a new pig in the parlor,
—And that is Irish too.

Then as all the players sing:

It's the right hand to your partner,
The left hand to your neighbor,

the girl turns to her left and her partner to his right, proceeding on, cutting in and out of the circle. The song continues:

The right hand to your partner,
And all promenade.

One promenades with the third person he meets in this manner. Couples continue promenading while they sing:

And all promenade,
And all promenade;
It's the right hand to your partner,
And all promenade.

While the players go, boys to the right and girls to the left, in and out the circle, the cheater makes his attempt to slip in ahead of another player at about the time the words,

It's the right hand to your partner,
And all promenade,

are sung the first time. The players now fall into a circle again, and if the first "pig" wasn't successful, everyone sings now:

It's the same old pig in the parlor, etc.

or, if the "pig" was successful:

Oh, we got a new pig in the parlor,

again.

These similar verses often become tiresome and the players then sing:

Oh, we fed the cow in the kitchen, etc.

or: Oh, we tied the pig to the bed post, etc.

or: Oh, my father and mother were Irish, etc.

or: Oh, the bear went over the mountain,
—To see what he could see.

and: And when he got over the mountain,
—He saw what he could see.

Of course, after each of these verses, to direct the players, the common refrain is sung:

It's the right hand to your partner,
And all promenade.

"The Girl I Left Behind Me" is a tune that has bobbed up with popular words in every generation for almost a century. Sigmund Spaeth says that it is an old Irish folk tune set down as early as 1800.²² According to my father, Lewis B. Hull, it was a favorite of the Union army drum corps, during the Civil War. Lomax has discovered a cowboy version.²³ It has been popular as a fiddle tune at play parties in Kansas for sixty years. "Straight Across the Hall," to a variation of this tune, is still played in Kansas. It is also used in the chorus of "Swingin' on the Corner."

STRAIGHT ACROSS THE HALL

Straight a-cross the hall to your op-po-si-te part-ner, Swing her by the
 right hand. Swing all your part-ners by the left, And pro-men-ade the girl
 be-hind you. Swing that girl, that pret-ty little girl the girl I left be-
 hind me With the bright blue eyes and the curly hair, And promenade the girl
 be-hind you.

The play-party song, "Swingin' on the Corner," is sung to the tune of "Buffalo Gals," an old popular air which goes under various

22. Spaeth, Sigmund, *Read 'Em and Weep*, p. 16.

23. Lomax and Lomax, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

names, as "Louisiana Girls," "Charleston Gals,"²⁴ and "Broadway Gals." My mother's version was:

Buffalo gals, ain't cha comin' out tonight,
 Ain't cha comin' out tonight,
 Ain't cha comin' out tonight?
 Buffalo gals, ain't cha comin' out tonight,
 To dance by the light of the moon?
 Danced all night, and my heel kep' a-rockin',
 My heel kep' a-rockin',
 And my heel kep' a-rockin',
 I danced with a girl with a hole in her stockin',
 And I danced by the light of the moon.

SWINGIN' ON THE CORNER

All hands up and cir-cle to the left, and cir-cle to the left, and
 cir-cle to the left; O, all hands up and cir-cle to the left in hon-or
 to your part - ner. Swing that girl, that pret-ty lit-tle girl, the
 girl I left be - hind me, With the bright blue eyes and the curly
 hair, Then prom-en-adé the girl be - hind you.

Chorus:

2. Swingin' on the corner like swingin' on the gate,
 Like swingin' on the gate,
 Like swingin' on the gate,
 Swingin' on the corner like swingin' on the gate,
 In honor to your partner.

24. Scarborough, Dorothy, *On the Trail of the Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1925), pp. 112-162.

Chorus: (The same as above and as follows.)

Swing that girl, that pretty little girl,
The girl I left behind me,
With the bright blue eyes and the curly hair,
Then promenade the girl behind you.

(or)

She's pretty in the face and slim around the waist,
Is the girl I left behind me.

(Note: Choruses and verses are interchangeable ad lib.)

An old tune pressed into service in various play-party games is "Drunken Sailor," probably once an old chantey. A common Kansas version runs:

What'll we do with the drunken sailor?
What'll we do with the drunken sailor?
What'll we do with the drunken sailor?
Put him in a boat and sail him over.

Edwin F. Piper believes this to be a variant of "Come, Philander."²⁵ The same tune is used in the game, "Going to Boston," in the Lomax version,²⁶ and also in the following Kansas game:

JUMBO

Here goes Jum - bo thru' the wind - ow, thru' the wind - ow,
 thru' the wind - ow; Here goes Jum - bo, thru' the wind - ow, Down to
 Refrain:
 Al - a - bam - a. All prom - e - nade with your hands on should - ers,
 All prom - e - nade with your hands on should - ers, All prom - e -
 nade with your hands on should - ers Down in Al - a bam - a.

25. Piper, *JAFL*, v. 28, p. 277.

26. Lomax and Lomax, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

All couples form a circle, with the girls on the inside, facing their partners. This forms an aisle through which "Jumbo," the cheater or extra man, marches, while the players sing:

1. Here goes Jumbo through the window,
Through the window, through the window,
Here goes Jumbo through the window,
Down in Alabama.

As this stanza ends, Jumbo steals a girl in the circle, and the game goes rapidly on, with the refrain:

All promenade with your hands on shoulders,
All promenade with your hands on shoulders,
All promenade with your hands on shoulders,
Down in Alabama.

Now the man from whom the girl was stolen has become the new Jumbo; and as the players fall back in line, he starts marching through the aisle formed, and the game goes on:

2. Big white house and nobody livin' in it. (*Repeat.*)
3. Get me a wife and I'll go to livin' in it.
4. I got a wife and seventeen children.
5. Left my wife and seventeen children.

Peculiar to this game is the rhythmical clapping as the first stanza is sung.

The play-party song, "U-Tan-U," is known in the Middle West by various names,²⁷ as "Ju Tang," "Jue Tain," "Jew-tang," and "Shoe-string." The tune of Freda Butterfield's version seems to be unique:

U-TAN-U

Four hand round the u - tan, u - tan u; Four hand round the
u - tan, u - tan u

The game is played as follows: Two couples join hands and circle to the left, singing:

1. Four hand round the U-tan,
U-tan-u;
Four hand round the U-tan,
U-tan-u.

Then the boy turns to his partner and takes her right hand with his right hand, thus cutting to the inside of the circle. Immediately

27. Botkin, *op. cit.*, No. 59.

he drops this girl's hand and cuts to the outside of the circle, taking the next girl's left hand by his left hand; then he steps to the inside again, taking the next girl's right hand by his right, etc., until he arrives home. At the same time the girls also cut in and out of the circle, going in the opposite direction. These movements form a continuous figure 8. During this time the players sing:

2. Right and left to U-tan,
U-tan-u;
Right and left to U-tan,
U-tan-u.
- (etc., *until home again.*)

Now both couples swing while they sing:

3. Once and a-half to U-tan,
U-tan-u. . . .

The boy moves, after swinging one girl, on to the next girl, and that girl meets him as she leaves the boy with whom she has just swung, etc., until home.

Now all join hands and circle to the left, singing:

4. One more couple to U-tan,
U-tan-u. . . .

A new couple breaks into the circle and now it's:

5. Six hands round the U-tan,
U-tan-u. . . .

This goes on long enough to accommodate all couples playing. Then, as a substitution for

One more couple

the words:

One less couple to U-tan,

are used.

One of the two couples beginning drops out first, etc., until there are only two couples left playing and the game is ended.

Often it is hard to keep the players at the game until it is finished, for they become very dizzy if there are many couples and the playing time is correspondingly lengthened.

The play-party song, "My Brown Jug," is not the old favorite, "Little Brown Jug," but a much rarer song. Mr. Botkin gives several Oklahoma versions,²⁸ none of which have the same tune as this

28. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

Kansas one. Vance Randolph's Ozark version is to the tune of "Skip to My Lou," and has as the second stanza, "Hit come back all flounced around."²⁹

MY BROWN JUG

Sent my brown jug down town, Sent my brown jug down town,
Sent my brown jug down town, So ear - ly in the morn - ing.
^{Chorus:}
Rail - road, steam - boat, riv - er and can - al, Lost my pal, she's a
fine old gal, But she's gone, gone, gone for ev - er.

2. It came back a-bouncin' round,
It came back a-bouncin' round,
It came back a-bouncin' round,
So early in the morning.

A play-party song not widely known, but still sung in southeastern Kansas, is the following one:

PLAYING ON THE HILLS TONIGHT

Play- ing on the hills to - night, Play-ing on the hills to - night
Play - ing on the hills to - night, But don't let the old folks know it.
^{Chorus:}
Sail a-way east, sail a-way west; Sail a-way o-ver the o-cean, Be -
ware young man, if you want a good wife. You'd bet-ter be quick in the mo-tion.

29. Randolph, JAFL, v. 42, p. 224.

2. The old folks are delight,
The old folks are delight,
The old folks are delight,
But the young folks they are darling.

"Six Little Girls" is sung to the tune of "The Mulberry Bush." The game is played as follows: Boys form a circle, leaving some space between boys, and inside this circle the girls form one. They are holding hands and facing the boys; they circle to the left, singing:

1. Six little girls a-skating went,
A-skating went, a-skating went;
Six little girls a-skating went,
So early in the morning.

Now they circle to the right, singing:

2. The ice was thin and they all fell in,
The ice was thin and they all fell in,
The ice was thin and they all fell in,
So early in the morning.

Each girl goes to the man in the circle who is nearest her, and each couple sings while swinging:

3. They called on the boys to help them out,
They called on the boys to help them out,
They called on the boys to help them out,
So early in the morning.

Now the girls form the outside circle and the boys the inside one and sing:

Six little boys a-skating went, etc.

Every boy goes to the girl in the circle who is nearest him—

They called on the girls to help them out, etc.

and the game is played over again.

The last four songs of this collection were "prime favorites" in Butler county fifty years ago. Of these "The Miller Boy" is so generally known that it is listed in almost every American play-party collection. The tune given here, the old dance tune, "Turkey in the Straw," is derived from the song, "Old Zip Coon," which was old in 1840, when it was parodied as a campaign song for William Henry Harrison. I remember a fragment, which my mother used to sing:

Oh, I went down to Northtown to give the game a run,
With my old dog, Cato, and my double-barreled gun;
And the first man I met was Billy Harrison.

According to Sigmund Spaeth, the tune goes back to 1815.³⁰ Isaac Goldberg attributes "Old Zip Coon" to George Nichols.³¹ It seems to have been a "rough jig dance called 'Natchez in the Hill.'" "Turkey in the Straw" was not only a fiddle tune, but a song as well.³²

Variant "A" of "The Miller Boy," the one traditional in southern Kansas, is to the tune of "Turkey in the Straw," as is also variant "B," contributed by Mrs. Harriet Pugh Tanner, whose family brought it to Lawrence from Highpoint, N. C., in 1871.

THE MILLER BOY

"A"

Oh, — hap - py is the mil - ler boy that lives by the mill. The
 wheel turns round with a right good will, One — hand in the hop - per,
 And the o - ther in the sack, O the la - dies step for - ward and the
 gents step back.

30. Spaeth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

31. Goldberg, Isaac, *Tin Pan Alley* (New York, John Day Company, 1930), p. 37.

32. One Kansas version runs:

1. I went down the alley just to pass the time away;
 I heard an old darky on a rustic banjo play.
 I asked what the tune was, and that darky began to roar,
 "Why, boss," he said, "that tune is called 'Turkey in the Straw.'"

Refrain:

- Turkey in the Straw, Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha!
 Turkey in the Straw, Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha!
 Funniest thing I ever saw
 Was when I watched that darky play "The Turkey in the Straw."
 2. I stayed there to watch him just to see what else he'd do;
 He started dancing many steps I thought quite new.
 I said to him, "Uncle, I've not seen that dance before."
 He laughed and said, "That too is called 'The Turkey in the Straw.'"
 3. It was a tune that was chuck'd full of pep;
 And your head started going while you had to watch your step.
 Oh-o, I've never heard such a quaint melody
 As when that old darky played that southern dance for me.

“B”

1. There was a jolly miller; he lived by himself,
And all day long he was laying up his wealth;
One hand in the hopper, and the other in the bag,
The wheel turns round, and he cries out, “Grab!”
(Each man “grabs” his partner.)
2. There was an old soldier, and he had a wooden leg,
And he had no tobacco; no tobacco could he beg.
So save up your money, and save up your rocks,
And you’ll always have tobacco in your tobacco box.

“C”

Another variant, as sung by Freda Butterfield, adds the refrain:

We’re sailing east; we’re sailing west;
We’re sailing over the ocean.
Beware, young man; if you want a good wife,
You’d better be quick in the motion.

“Weevilly Wheat” is also widely known.³³ Leona Nessly Ball’s Idaho collection of play-party songs has a ten-stanza version. Mrs. L. D. Ames’s Missouri collection contains the unique line, “Come, honey, my love, and trip with me.” Vance Randolph also has an interesting variant.³⁴ The most common Kansas version is as follows:

WEEVILLY WHEAT

Oh, Char-ley he's a nice young man, And Char-ley he's a dan-dy.

Char - ley loves to kiss the girls When - e - ver it comes han - dy.

2. O, I'll have none of your weevilly wheat,
And I'll have none of your barley;
I'll have none of your weevilly wheat
To bake a cake for Charley.

³³. See Footnote 19.

³⁴. Ball, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16-17; Ames, *loc. cit.*, pp. 302-303; Randolph, *loc. cit.*, pp. 207-209.

"Oh, Sister Phoebe," or "The Juniper Tree," is a typical example of the great change in form that often occurs in the folk song through centuries of oral transmission. According to W. W. Newell, it has developed from a centuries old European theme, "The Widow With Daughters to Marry." He gives a Philadelphia version, which is played as follows: A child, representing a mother, is followed by a file of daughters, each grasping the frock of the girl in front:

There comes a poor widow from Barbary-land,
With all her children in her hand;
One can brew, and one can bake,
And one can make a wedding-cake;

Pray take one,
Pray take two,
Pray take one that pleases you.³⁵

In the more common version, however, only one daughter, Sister Phoebe, remains unmarried.

OH, SISTER PHOEBE

Oh, sis- ter Phoe- be, how hap- py were we, When we sat un - der the
jun - i - per tree! The jun - i-per tree,___ high oh, high oh, The
jun - i-per tree,___ high oh!

2. Keep your hat on it will keep your head warm;
And take a sweet kiss; it will do you no harm.

The words lend themselves readily to local parody, as the following extemporaneous stanza from a Rose Hill community indicates:

Emmy, oh, Emmy, how happy were we
The night we sat under old Eli's peach tree!
Old Eli's peach tree, Heigh O, Heigh O!
Old Eli's peach tree, Heigh O!

According to Carl Van Doren, this game, a kissing game, is played thus: A girl sits in a chair in the center of the room, while the other players march around her singing. A boy carrying a hat walks round and round the sitting player. At the proper moment, he places the hat on the girl's head and kisses her.³⁶

35. Newell, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58, No. 8. No tune.

36. Van Doren, *JAFL*, v. 32, p. 490.

This song, like "The Miller Boy" and "Weevilly Wheat," is listed by play-party collectors throughout the country.

The play-party song, "Shoot the Buffalo," seems to be of purely American origin. Mr. Botkin thinks that the original was an emigrant song, "The Hunting of the Buffalo."³⁷ However that may be, the Kansas version, which has been sung in Butler county for nearly sixty years, is to the tune of "The Captain With His Whiskers," a popular Civil War song, which my mother sang to entertain the soldiers at Camp Mitchell, Ohio, about 1864.

THE CAPTAIN WITH HIS WHISKERS

1. As they march'd through the town with their banners so gay,
I ran to the window to hear the band play;
I peep'd through the blinds very cautiously then,
Lest the neighbors should say I was looking at the men.
Oh! I heard the drums beat and the music so sweet,
But my eyes at the time caught a much greater treat;
The troop was the finest I ever did see,
And the Captain with his whiskers took a sly glance at me.
2. When we met at the ball, I, of course, thought 'twas right,
To pretend that we never had met before that night;
But he knew me at once, I perceived by his glance,
And I hung down my head when he asked me to dance.
Oh, he sat by my side, at the end of the set,
And the sweet words he spoke I never shall forget;
For my heart was enlisted, and could not get free,
As the captain with his whiskers took a sly glance at me.
3. But he marched from the town, and I see him no more,
Yet I think of him oft, and the whiskers he wore;
I dream all the night, and I talk all the day,
Of the love of a captain who went far away.
I remember with the superabundant delight,
When we met in the street, and we danced all the night;
And keep in my mind how my heart jumped with glee,
As the captain with his whiskers took a sly glance at me.

Chorus, after last stanza:

Perhaps he is here! Let me look round the house.
Keep still, everyone; keep still as a mouse,
For if the dear creature is here, he will be
With his whiskers, a-taking sly glances at me.

37. Botkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-312. Five Oklahoma variants.

The Kansas version of "Shoot the Buffalo" is as follows:

SHOOT THE BUFFALO

Rise up, my dear-est dear, And pre- sent to me your hand, And we'll
march a - way to - geth- er, To a far and bet- ter land. Brake and
shoot the buf - fa -- lo, Brake and shoot the buf - fa - lo! We'll
ral - ly round the cane-brake. And shoot the buf-fa - lo.

Chorus:

2. Where the hawk shot the eagle,
And the buzzard stumped his toe,
We'll rally round the cane-brake,
And shoot the buffalo.

This quaint song had as many variants as there were communities singing it, and it was sung throughout the West, from Missouri to Idaho.³⁸

Thus we have traced, in this brief survey, the migrations of typical play-party folk songs, from their beginnings, centuries ago, in England, France, Provence, Italy, and Germany, to the Atlantic seaboard of America; thence, moving ever westward with pioneer folk, and all the while accumulating new themes and legends, they have finally reached the last frontier. "By the golden network of oral tradition,"³⁹ have the poetry and song, the mores and ways of the folk been preserved.

38. Ball, *JAFL*, v. 44, p. 16; Randolph, *ibid.*, v. 42, p. 212; Lomax and Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297, twelve stanzas.

39. Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

Removal of the Osages from Kansas

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

WHEN the Great and Little Osage tribes, by the treaty of June 2, 1825,¹ ceded and relinquished to the United States all their claim to lands south of the Kansas river, and lying west of the state of Missouri and the territory of Arkansas, they reserved so long as they might choose to occupy the same, a rectangular tract of land in what is now southern Kansas, just west of the Cherokee neutral lands.² The tract was fifty miles wide and about one hundred and twenty-five miles long. By the treaty of September 29, 1865,³ the Osages agreed to sell the eastern part of this tract of land to the United States. They ceded the northern part of the tract, or a strip twenty miles wide, to the United States to be held in trust and sold for their benefit at a price not less than one dollar and a quarter an acre; and the Osages agreed to settle upon their "diminished reservation." According to the treaty the Osages might unite with any tribe of Indians at peace with the United States, residing in the Indian territory. The treaty provided that if the Osages should agree to remove from Kansas and settle on lands to be provided for them by the United States in the Indian territory on such terms as might be agreed on between the United States and the Indian tribes then residing in said territory or any of them, then the diminished reservation should be disposed of by the United States in the same manner and for the same purpose as provided in the treaty in relation to said trust lands, except that fifty percent of the proceeds of the sale of the diminished reservation might be used by the United States in the purchase of lands for a suitable home for the Osages in the Indian territory.

Articles fifteen⁴ and sixteen of the Cherokee treaty of 1866 helped

1. 7 *Statutes*, 240; Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, v. II, pp. 217-221. There were three bands consisting of the Great Osage, Little Osage, and the Arkansas band. This division is comparatively modern.—Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Pt. II, p. 156.

2. Annie H. Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII (1904), pp. 76-77, and map opposite p. 88.

3. 14 *Statutes*, 687. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*, pp. 836-837; map 26.

4. 14 *Statutes*, 799; Kappler, v. II, pp. 942-950. Article fifteen of the treaty follows: "The United States may settle any civilized Indians, friendly with the Cherokees and adjacent tribes, within the Cherokee country, on unoccupied lands east of 96°, on such terms as may be agreed upon by any such tribe and the Cherokees, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, which shall be consistent with the following provisions, viz.: Should any such tribe or band of Indians settling in said country abandon their tribal organization, there being first paid into the Cherokee national fund a sum of money which shall sustain the same proportion to the then existing national fund that the number of Indians sustain to the whole number of Cherokees then residing in the Cherokee country, they shall be incorporated into and ever after remain a part of the Cherokee nation, on equal terms in every

to pave the way for the removal of the Osages from Kansas. A few years after the execution of the treaty, when valuable interests were involved, every word of these articles was examined and reexamined in an effort to apply every possible construction. Article sixteen was the more important, because the Osages finally settled on lands west of the ninety-sixth meridian. The article reads:

The United States may settle friendly Indians in any part of the Cherokee country west of 96° , to be taken in a compact form in quantity not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres for each member of each of said tribes thus to be settled; the boundaries of each of said districts to be distinctly marked, and the land conveyed in fee simple to each of said tribes to be held in common or by their members in severalty as the United States may decide. Said lands thus disposed of to be paid for to the Cherokee nation at such price as may be agreed on between the said parties in interest, subject to the approval of the President; and if they should not agree, then the price to be fixed by the President. The Cherokee nation to retain the right of possession of and jurisdiction over all of said country west of 96° of longitude until thus sold and occupied, after which their jurisdiction and right of possession to terminate forever as to each of said districts thus sold and occupied.

According to the treaty if the United States settled Indians on unoccupied lands east of the ninety-sixth meridian they were to be both "civilized" and "friendly," but the latter requirement alone sufficed for those settled west of that line. Article sixteen provided for the conveyance of the land in fee simple to Indian tribes, but did not specify *by whom* it should be conveyed. The last four words of the article deserve scrutiny. The words "thus sold" apparently refer to the words "paid for" used in the preceding sentence.⁵ If the Cherokees had a fee-simple title to the Outlet prior to the treaty of

respect with native citizens. And should any such tribe, thus settling in said country, decide to preserve their tribal organizations, and to maintain their tribal laws, customs, and usages, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the Cherokee nation, they shall have a district of country set off for their use by metes and bounds equal to one hundred and sixty acres, if they should so decide, for each man, woman, and child of said tribe, and shall pay for the same into the national fund such price as may be agreed on by them and the Cherokee nation, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, and in cases of disagreement the price to be fixed by the President.

"And the said tribe thus settled shall also pay into the national fund a sum of money, to be agreed on by the respective parties, not greater in proportion to the whole existing national fund and the probable proceeds of the lands herein ceded or authorized to be ceded or sold than their numbers bear to the whole number of Cherokees then residing in said country, and thence afterwards they shall enjoy all the rights of native Cherokees. But no Indians who have no tribal organizations, or who shall determine to abandon their tribal organizations, shall be permitted to settle east of the 96° of longitude without the consent of the Cherokee national council, or of a delegation duly appointed by it, being first obtained. And no Indians who have and determine to preserve their tribal organizations shall be permitted to settle, as herein provided, east of the 96° of longitude without such consent being first obtained, unless the President of the United States, after a full hearing of the objections offered by said council or delegation to such settlement, shall determine that the objections are insufficient, in which case he may authorize the settlement of such tribe east of the 96° of longitude."

5. Secretaries Teller and Noble and Chief Joel B. Mayes were agreed upon this construction. See *Senate Executive Documents*, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., v. I (2261), No. 17, p. 5; *ibid.*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., v. IX (2686), No. 78, p. 11; Mayes to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 23, 1889, OIA (Office of Indian Affairs), 6227 Ind. Div. 1889.

1866, which they appear to have had,⁶ the title remained in them until conveyed by them as provided for in the treaty, or otherwise. By the treaty the United States was made the agent of the Cherokees for the sale and disposition of the lands. It seems to have been a condition generally accepted that the Cherokees were *occupying* the lands of the Outlet; the patent of 1838 had specified that lands granted to the Cherokees should revert to the United States if the Cherokee nation *abandoned* the same.

An unratified treaty of May 27, 1868⁷ set forth terms on which the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company might purchase the lands of the Osages in Kansas. Article one stated that the Osages were desirous of removing to a new and permanent home in the Indian territory. By article fourteen the United States agreed to sell to them, for their future home, at a price not to exceed twenty-five cents per acre, the district of Cherokee country lying between the ninety-sixth meridian and the middle of the main channel of the Arkansas river. It was agreed that the United States should, at its own expense, cause the boundary lines of said country to be surveyed and marked by permanent and conspicuous monuments. It was also stipulated and agreed that when the United States had secured a title to the said district of country, the Osages should be required to remove and reside thereon; but that nothing in the treaty should be so construed as to compel them to remove from their reservation in Kansas until the government had secured said title, and notice thereof had been given by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the agent of the Osages.

In his annual report the next year the local agent stated that in view of the condition of the Osages, their location and the immense immigration pouring in on the diminished reservation, nothing better could be done than to amend the treaty in certain provisions, so as for the government to take all the Osage lands in Kansas and move the Osages to Indian territory.⁸ Supt. Enoch Hoag, after holding a

6. B. B. Chapman, "How the Cherokees Acquired the Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. XV (1937), pp. 30-49.

7. The treaty is in *House Reports*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., v. II (1858), No. 63, pp. 14-23.

8. Agent G. C. Snow to Com. E. S. Parker, July 24, 1869, *Indian Affairs*, 1869, p. 381. The treaty of September 29, 1865, referred to the Osages as "greatly impoverished." Three years later they were on the verge of starvation. Capt. M. V. Sheridan to Maj. Gen. P. H. Sheridan, December 1, 1868, *Senate Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., (1860) No. 41. In 1869 Vincent Colyer, a special Indian commissioner, found them "in a state of almost complete destitution." Report for 1869, *House Executive Documents*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., v. III (1414), p. 513.

Conditions in Kansas were apparently becoming intolerable for the Osages. Their crops were destroyed by herds of cattle and other stock belonging to white settlers; and lawless white men stole their horses and robbed their corn cribs. Agent I. T. Gibson to Enoch Hoag, October 1, 1870; the letter is in *Indian Affairs*, 1871, pp. 483-489. Hoag to Commissioner Parker, October 8, 1870, *ibid.*, 1870, pp. 258-259.

council with the Osages, reported on October 11, 1869, that it was his judgment that the larger portion of the tribe would prefer that the treaty should not be ratified. According to his report the Osages stated that they were anxious to sell their lands and remove to the Indian territory, whether or not the treaty was ratified.⁹ In January, 1870, Agt. Isaac T. Gibson, in three letters, reported to Hoag that the lands of the Osages were being unlawfully intruded upon by white settlers and that there was danger of an outbreak on the part of the Indians in defense of their homes.¹⁰ On January 28 the Office of Indian Affairs received a recommendation from Hoag stating that if the treaty were not ratified the government should at once buy the lands of the Osages and open a new home for them south, where they desired to go. "If this is *long delayed*," said Hoag, "*war may result therefrom.*"¹¹ In view of the impoverished condition of the Osages, and as affording a mode of speedy settlement of the difficulties arising from the encroachment of the whites, Com. E. S. Parker on March 3 suggested that it be recommended to congress that the sum of \$50,000 be immediately appropriated to remove and settle the Osages in the Indian country.¹²

In March the Office of Indian Affairs was informed that the Osages desired to send a delegation of their tribe to Washington on business considered by them to be of great importance. According to Gibson, they desired to consider, among other things, the making of an agreement disposing of their lands and providing for themselves a new home.¹³ Commissioner Parker did not approve their request, but submitted it to Sec. Jacob D. Cox for consideration and instructions.¹⁴ Cox said that while he was opposed to the practice of Indians coming to Washington, under the impression that they could be benefited, he was inclined to grant the request of the Osages. "They have certainly been imposed upon and cruelly wronged by the settlers in Kansas," he said, "and I suggest that Agent Gibson be instructed to bring to Washington such delegation of the Osages as they may select, in order that the Department may hear from them the story of their wrongs, and may take action with a view to redress them."¹⁵ On April 5 Parker directed that Gibson

9. Same to same, October 11, 1869, OIA, Neosho, H. 538—1869.

10. The letters are in *H. Ex. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., v. VII (1418), No. 179, pp. 3-5. On February 2, 1870, Gibson urged that the government make some provision for the protection of the Osages, or remove them to a new home.—Gibson to Hoag, *ibid.*, p. 6.

11. The recommendation is in OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 771—1870.

12. Parker to Sec. J. D. Cox, March 3, 1870, *H. Ex. Docs.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

13. Gibson to Hoag, March 8, 1870, OIA, Neosho, I. 1133—1870.

14. Parker to Cox, March 29, 1870, OIA, "Report Book 19," p. 276.

15. Cox to Com. Ind. Aff., April 2, 1870, OIA, "Letters Indian Affairs," v. 17, Pt. I, pp. 95-96.

bring a delegation, not more than six in number and also an interpreter, to Washington at the earliest day practicable.¹⁶

At a certain payment made to the Osages on May 4, Hoag took the opportunity in general council to urge them, for their welfare, to visit the Commissioner of Indian Affairs through a judicious delegation, and with the approval of the President, arrange for the disposition of their lands in Kansas, and the securing of a new home in the Indian territory at the earliest period possible.¹⁷ Although the Osages appeared fully to realize the advantages as set forth by Hoag, and to appreciate the interest of the government in the premises, they failed to elect a delegation, and scattered to the plains. There was so much feeling in the tribe on the subject of treaties that Hoag considered it difficult for them to select a delegation with authority to sell their lands, in view of the responsibility and displeasure of the tribe that might follow. In a letter to Commissioner Parker on June 7 Hoag stated that Gibson was of the opinion that the Osages would not return to their homes after their hunt. He suggested that Gibson be at once directed to go to Washington and give the Department what information he could in the matter and confer therewith as to the best course to be pursued. With his letter Hoag enclosed a letter from Joseph Pah-ne-no-posh, governor of the Osage nation, stating that it was the desire of all the headmen of the nation for the President to send commissioners to them about August 20 to make a treaty, as they expected to make a short hunt and come in.¹⁸ "If the Department should authorize a commission to treat with them for the sale of their lands, and their removal to a new home," said Hoag, "I would suggest that, to avail themselves of the confidence of the Osages, it should be a body representing the Government, and who had not participated in former treaties with them, as misrepresentations have produced a shyness with many of the tribe." On June 20 the Office of Indian Affairs recommended that necessary measures be taken in order to have the asked for council held in the Osage country at the time requested and that the government be represented in the council by members of the President's special Indian commission.¹⁹

Sections twelve and thirteen of the Indian appropriation act of July 15²⁰ provided that whenever the Osages should agree thereto,

16. Parker to Hoag, April 5, 1870, OIA, "Finance and Misc. Letter Book 95," p. 87.

17. Hoag to Parker, June 7, 1870, OIA, Neosho, H. 1171—1870.

18. Joseph Pah-ne-no-posh to Gibson, May 20, 1870, *ibid.*

19. Act. Com. W. F. Cady to Sec. Int., June 20, 1870, OIA, "Rept. Book 19," pp. 407-408.

20. 16 *Statutes*, 362.

in such manner as the President should prescribe, it should be his duty to remove them from Kansas to lands provided or to be provided for them for a permanent home in the Indian territory, to consist of a tract of land in compact form equal in quantity to one hundred and sixty acres for each member of the tribe, or such part thereof as said Indians might desire, to be paid for out of the proceeds of the sales of their lands in Kansas, the price per acre for such lands to be procured in the Indian territory not to exceed the price paid or to be paid by the United States for the same. And to defray the expenses of said removal, and to aid in the subsistence of the Osages during the first year, the sum named by Commissioner Parker in his letter of March 3 was appropriated, to be reimbursed to the United States from the proceeds of the sale of the lands of the Osages in Kansas. These lands, including the trust lands north of the diminished reservation, excepting sixteen and thirty-six sections, which should be reserved to Kansas for school purposes, should be sold to actual settlers at the price of one dollar and a quarter an acre; payment to be made in cash within one year from the date of settlement or of the passage of this act. It was agreed that the United States should pay interest annually on the amount of money received as proceeds of the sale of the lands at the rate of five percent, to be expended by the President for the benefit of the Osages, in such manner as he might deem proper. The proceeds should be carried to the credit of the Osages on the books of the Treasury. There were to be erected at their new home in the Indian territory, agency buildings, a warehouse, a dwelling and shop for a blacksmith, a saw and grist mill, a schoolhouse and church.

In a report from the Office of Indian Affairs on July 19 the attention of the Secretary of the Interior was asked to the consideration of the request of Gov. Joseph Pah-ne-no-posh of May 20 that commissioners be appointed and sent to the Osages about August 20 to make an agreement with them, apparently in relation to their removal. Commissioner Parker recommended that steps be taken as soon as practicable to carry into effect the provisions of sections twelve and thirteen of the Indian appropriation act of July 15.²¹ A copy of the report was transmitted by Secretary Cox on July 22 to Vincent Colyer, secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, with the request that the board inform the Office of Indian Affairs at what time it would be practicable for them to visit the Osages, to

21. Parker to Secretary of the Interior, July 19, 1870, *Report of Board of Indian Commissioners, 1870*, p. 72. The report of the board for 1870 is also in *S. Ex. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 3 Sess., v. I (1440), No. 39.

carry into effect the recommendations contained in the report.²² The subject was brought before the board at its special meeting in New York on July 28. John V. Farwell, John D. Lang and Colyer were appointed a commission to visit the Osages, and if upon consultation with them it should be ascertained that they accepted the proposition of Congress, the commission were to assist them to the extent of their ability. On August 2 Acting Commissioner Cady wrote to the commission as follows:

Your board having arranged to be present at the council to be held with the Osages, in the Cherokee country, with a view to establishing this tribe upon a new reservation there, to be purchased from the Cherokees, the Secretary of the Interior directs me to say to you, that it is desired that the price to be given for the land shall not exceed 50 cents per acre, and that in making the arrangement with the Cherokees, your endeavor will be to subserve the interests of the Government as well as those of the Indians, and to effect, if possible, the purchase at even a less price.²³

However, Cady said that the matter was left to the discretion and sound judgment of the commission, and it was expected that the object would be accomplished to the satisfaction of all parties interested.

Accompanying the letter was a copy of another letter by Cady to Hoag stating that the place of the meeting of the council with the Osages must be in the country to which they were to remove and not upon their reservation in Kansas.²⁴ On August 6 Hoag was advised that William P. Adair, Clement N. Vann and six other persons had been appointed commissioners on behalf of the Cherokee nation to meet the Osages in council in the Cherokee country sometime during August to confer upon the matter of procuring the Osages a home in that country.²⁵ The Cherokees were invited to be present at the council for the purpose of arranging their own terms.²⁶ Colyer objected to the provision in the instructions stating that the council should be held in the Cherokee country, since it assumed that the Osages would accept sections twelve and thirteen of the recent Indian appropriation act. On August 11 the instructions

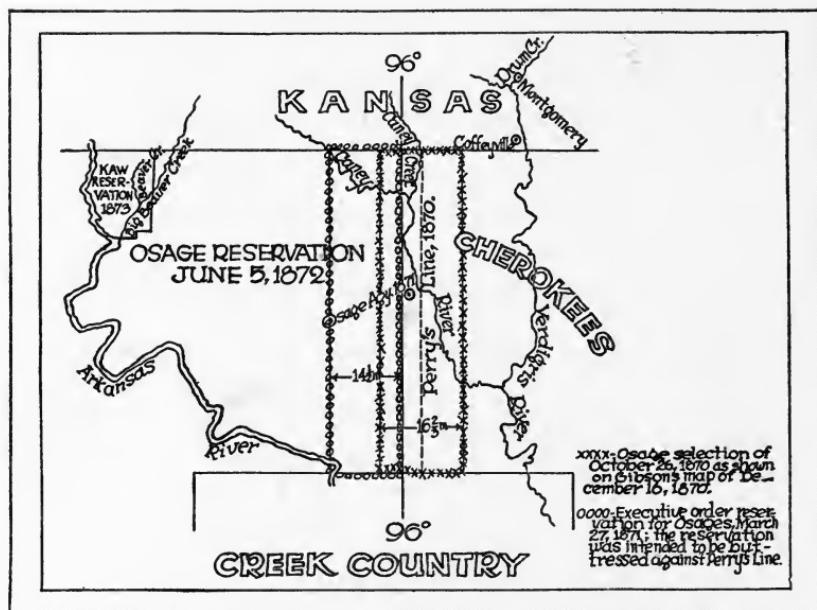
22. Cox to Colyer, July 22, 1870, *Rpt. of Bd. of Indian Commissioners, 1870*, p. 72.

23. Cady to Farwell et al., August 2, 1870, *ibid.*, p. 73.

24. Cady to Hoag, July 22, 1870, *ibid.*, p. 73. Hoag was directed to instruct Agent Gibson to proceed to the Cherokee country as soon as practicable and there select and mark out the country to which it was intended to remove the Osages, and to make such preparations as might be requisite for the establishment of these Indians comfortably in their new homes.

25. Cady to Hoag, August 6, 1870, OIA, "Land and Civilization Letter Book 96," pp. 466-467.

26. Parker to Colyer and Lang, August 11, 1870, *Rpt. of Bd. of Indian Commissioners, 1870*, p. 73.



were changed so that it was left to the Osages themselves to select the council ground.²⁷

About this time Agent Gibson sent out runners to notify the chiefs of the coming of the commission. But when the commission arrived at the Osage agency at Montgomery, Kan., on August 20 the tribe were nearly all out on the plains buffalo hunting. Pending the arrival of the Osages, the commission engaged teams, and accompanied by Hoag and Gibson, they occupied the four following days in visiting and inspecting the Cherokee lands they believed to be just west of the ninety-sixth meridian, to which lands it was proposed to remove the Osages. It may be that these horsemen were more engrossed in the location of the future home of the Osages than in finding for themselves a retreat from the rays of the August sun; and that they faithfully rode across an expanse of good land in the valley of the Caney. The commission said:

We rode forty-five miles into the reservation, making a wide detour on our return, so that we could see as much of it as possible. We found the land of excellent quality, a liberal proportion of it, along the banks of the Cana, good bottom land, well timbered, with tall and thick prairie grass, plenty of water, and the upland rolling, apparently covered with good pasture for cattle, and considerable timber.²⁸

27. Parker to Hoag, August 11, 1870, *ibid.*, p. 74.

28. Report of the commission, *ibid.*, p. 18.

In establishing the Osage reservation there was no question more vexing than the location of the ninety-sixth meridian through the Cherokee country. The commission said that they could not find anyone who could inform them correctly as to the location of that line; nor were there any surveyor's marks to be seen. By the advice of the commission and the urgent request of the Osages, Superintendent Hoag employed a surveyor to run the line immediately. He probably employed A. H. Perry. At any rate a special or preliminary survey of the line was made in the autumn of 1870 for which Perry was allowed the sum of \$618.²⁹

The commission were confronted by two obstacles to which they turned their attention before the Osages came in from the plains for a conference with them. First, there were about three hundred white people already settled upon the lands designated as a new reservation for the Osages. By September 2 troops were in southeastern Kansas for the purpose of removing the trespassers from the lands and many of them were removed during the fall. Second, there was difficulty in satisfying Osages who were opposed to the acceptance of sections twelve and thirteen of the act of July 15, 1870. Among them were half-breeds who had farms of choice land worth twelve or fifteen dollars an acre. The commission found it desirable to accept pledges made by a mass meeting of citizens settled upon the Osage reservation in Kansas, who as a "*community*" agreed to resolutions guaranteeing to the half-breeds full protection in their right to enter their claims as white settlers, should they desire to remain upon them, and if not of selling them, and extending to the purchasers of such Indian claims the same protection in their right to enter. According to the commission there was no other alternative but for them to pledge their influence with the government to secure all that the mass meeting had guaranteed, or fail to get the desirable coöperation of these half-breeds. Consequently they said to the half-breeds that if they would sign "the bill" the commission would use its influence with the government "to compel those twenty thousand squatters to redeem their pledges to the very letter." It is almost incredible that the commission or Osages would expect the Kansas frontiersmen to keep, without compulsion, pledges and promises to their own economic detriment.³⁰ But with the two obstacles

29. Act. Com. H. R. Clum to A. H. Perry, January 7, 1871, OIA, "Finance and Misc. Letter Book 99," pp. 21-22.

30. After the commission left the reservation the attitude of the "*community*" is explained by the following remark: "The Osages have signed the bill, and we have got the land; let the half-breeds go to h--l."—Gibson to Colyer, December 24, 1870, *Rpt. of Bd. of Indian Commissioners, 1870*, pp. 88-84. See, also, the protest of the commission made about the same time, *ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

temporarily eliminated, the way for an agreement with the Osages was open.

The commission met the Osages on the old council ground on the banks of Drum creek, at the agency. There was considerable discussion about the price the Osages were to pay for their new reservation. The commission fully explained to them the instructions of the government, that they were not to pay more than fifty cents per acre, in case they could not agree with the Cherokees, and referred the matter of price to the President. Clement N. Vann, representing the Cherokees,³¹ was early on the ground, looking after the interest of his people, and was zealous in endeavoring to get one dollar and a quarter an acre for the lands to be occupied by the Osages. The commission said: "So earnestly did he press this that the Osages seemed at one time to be fully persuaded that they must pay that price for the new land, and it hindered our progress considerably."³² However the commission stated that they succeeded in satisfying the Osages that the President would not make them pay more than fifty cents an acre for the lands.

After the commission had had repeated conferences with the chiefs, a full council of the Osages assembled under a large elm tree in the afternoon of September 10 to determine whether they would accept or reject sections twelve and thirteen of the recent Indian appropriation act. All the tribes and bands of the Osages, except Young Claymore's band, were represented by their chiefs or headmen. A vast assembly of white settlers also came to witness the results of the day. In council the Osages observed that the land was as good as the money offered to them, and in fact could be longer retained by them. Gov. Joseph Pah-ne-no-posh stated that the government should pay the Osages about \$300,000 for damages inflicted upon them by white intruders.³³ He presented to the commission a petition addressed to the President, signed by twenty-three chiefs, headmen and councilors of the Osages. The petition stated among other things, that the Osages felt assured that "the bill" was the work of their friends, and not of speculators. It requested that the Osages be allowed to purchase a larger tract of country from the Cherokees than that provided in the act; to hold their lands in common until

31. From "various causes beyond the control" of the Cherokee commissioners named in Acting Commissioner Cady's letter of August 6, only Vann was at the Osage agency at this time; and no council between the Osage chiefs and the Cherokee commissioners took place. See the extract from the message of Prin. Chief Lewis Downing, November 19, 1870, OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 47—1871.

32. Report of the commission, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

33. The proceedings of the councils held on September 10 and 12, 1870, are in *ibid.*, pp. 77-82.

they asked for them to be sectionalized; and that the right to hunt buffalo on the western prairies on government land be secured to them as long as buffalo continued plentiful. The Osages in the petition requested protection from intrusion upon their lands. And they asked that the United States purchase for them, adjoining their lands in Indian territory, the same quantity of land as had been granted Kansas for school purposes out of the Osage lands.³⁴

The council was adjourned until after supper, was reconvened at 8:30 in the evening, and the necessary signatures of the Osages were appended to the act signifying their acceptance of the same.³⁵ On September 12 Watanka, head councilor of the Claymore band, arrived at the council grounds, and after having fully asserted his dignity and right to be consulted, signed the act. The Board of Indian Commissioners observed that five weeks were required to allow the Osages time to decide upon the acceptance of the act, and that it was "probably the most important transaction of their lives."³⁶

Since the Osages agreed to part with their lands in Kansas, it became necessary to determine what Cherokee lands they should occupy, and also the area and price of the same. They gave their number to the commission as 3,500 souls, which number according to the Cherokee treaty of 1866 would allow them a tract of 560,000 acres. A delegation appointed by the Osage national council in September proceeded on the duty of selecting a new home for the tribe in the Indian territory. In a regular council called for that purpose, the principal chiefs on October 26 formally selected a tract of country which the Osages had frequently occupied temporarily, and had for years regarded as their future home.³⁷ The tract was considered to be 60 miles long, 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles wide and to comprise 640,000 acres. The ninety-sixth meridian, as determined by the special survey in the fall of 1870, severed the tract in twain.

During the fall the Osages settled on the tract and began making improvements thereon. Their efforts were arrested by allegations of the Cherokees that the special survey of the ninety-sixth meridian was in notorious variance with the official maps furnished them by the government, and with every map known to exist; and that under this "surreptitious survey" the Osages were really making improvements upon Cherokee soil east of the true ninety-sixth meridian.³⁸

34. The petition is in *ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

35. The act as accepted and signed is in *ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

37. Gibson to Hoag, October 1, 1871, *Indian Affairs*, 1871, pp. 489-490.

38. Hoag to H. R. Clum, October 5, 1871, *ibid.*, pp. 464-465.

The situation of the Osages was further complicated because soon after they officially made their selection of land, a delegation of Kaws, with their agent, selected a tract of land for that tribe in the northern part of the Osage tract, and buttressed against the ninety-sixth meridian as determined by the special survey.³⁹ Most of the white settlers whom the military removed in the fall of 1870 from the lands of Indian territory bordering on Kansas, returned promptly when the soldiers left.

During the summer Clement N. Vann, verbally and by letter, had pointed out that it would be better for the Osages and Cherokees to agree upon the price of the lands to be occupied by the Osages than to have the price determined by the government, because more cordiality and coöperation could then be expected between the two tribes.⁴⁰ Arrangements were made by Agent Gibson and Vann for a meeting of representatives of the two tribes on Caney river in the autumn, but the meeting did not take place. On October 22 Principal Chief Downing suggested that the Osages send a delegation to the Cherokee national council, soon to convene, which body would have full power to represent the Cherokees.⁴¹ The Osages were anxious to have the matter settled and preferred to have the President determine the price of the lands. But on the recommendation of Gibson a delegation was appointed to go to Tahlequah. The Osage council instructed the delegation fully as to the choice of land, as to price, and instructed them to send their business to the President if negotiations with the Cherokees were not successful. In the minutes of the Osage council meeting of October 26 Gibson listed the names of ten delegates who

were appointed— instructed to meet here (Caneyville) in 12 days (Nov. 7), families of delegates to be subsisted here during their absence at nations expense. Delegates instructed as their *first* choice on both sides of 96—and second choice just west of 96. 6 of the Delegates will constitute a quorum. Delegates were instructed not to offer more than 25 cts per acre for the land except in case that the Cherokee Council offer to take 50 cts per acre.⁴²

39. Gibson to Com. E. S. Parker, December 20, 1870, OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 47—1871. The Kaws were about seven hundred in number. In the vicinity of Council Grove they had a diminished reserve of some 80,000 acres, while their "trust lands" adjoining the reserve totaled more than 137,000 acres. The Kaws were well pleased with the selection of land in the northern part of the Osage tract. Agent Mahlon Stubbs thought it would be difficult to obtain their consent to remove farther into Indian territory.—Stubbs to Hoag, September 14, 1871, *Indian Affairs*, 1871, p. 495; Hoag to Com. F. A. Walker, December 28, 1871, OIA, Kan., H. 963—1871.

40. Vann to Gibson, August 12, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 47—1871.

41. Downing to Vann, October 22, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in *ibid.*

42. Mr. David Parsons found in Agent Gibson's papers the "Minutes of Osage Council appointing Del. to Cherokee Nation," dated October 26, 1870. The minutes were written on the unused parts of a letter. A photostat copy is in the Osage museum at Pawhuska, Okla. Mr. Parsons is preparing an exhaustive history of the Osages during the period of their removal from Kansas.

On November 17 Gibson and the Osage delegation arrived at Tahlequah. In a letter to the Cherokee national council the following day they referred to the selection of land made by the Osages, observed that the desirable land was in the eastern part of the selection, and they stated that the Osages had been virtually homeless for a considerable time and were anxious to acquire a permanent home. They stated that if the lands selected by the Kaws, amounting to about 93,440 acres, were included in the Osage tract, it would be necessary to increase the width of the tract to 19 1/10 miles. They asked the national council to consent to occupation by the Osages of that part of their selection east of the ninety-sixth meridian as then determined, and also to state the lowest price per acre for all the lands embraced in their selection.⁴³

According to Gibson the Cherokee national council appeared to the Osage delegation to be very dilatory in their action; and the delegation became indignant at the delay. On November 30 Gibson addressed a letter to the commissioners on behalf of the Cherokee nation named in Acting Commissioner Cady's letter of August 6, stating that the delegation would like to confer with them that day on the subject of procuring a home for the Osages in the Cherokee country.⁴⁴ On the same day Adair and Vann replied that it was their desire to accommodate their unfortunate brethren, the Osages, so far as they possibly could, but that their commissions expired at the termination of the late Osage council, called at the suggestion of the Interior Department. They stated that the matter of negotiating with the Osages was then engaging the official attention of the national council, and that it was to be hoped that it would soon be consummated with full satisfaction to all parties concerned. They asked that the delegation be patient until the national council should take legal action in the matter, which was of great importance to the Cherokees, the Osages and the government, and dispose of the same promptly and finally in a formal and business manner.⁴⁵ On the same day Principal Chief Downing explained that the matter of negotiating with the Osages had not been subjected to any unnecessary delay, although it might have had to yield to other business that had legitimate precedence.⁴⁶ The patience of the delegation was wearing

43. Gibson et al. to Cherokee national council, November 18, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 47—1871.

44. Gibson to W. P. Adair et al., November 30, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in *ibid.*

45. Adair and Vann to Gibson, November 30, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in *ibid.*

46. Downing to Gibson, November 30, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in *ibid.*

thin and after two weeks of fruitless effort to bring about a council with the Cherokees, they left Tahlequah.

An act of the Cherokee national council approved December 1 provided for the appointment of five commissioners to meet commissioners representing each of the several bands of Osages on January 2, 1871, "at Lewis Choteau's on Caney Creek" for the purpose of selecting and locating a permanent home for the Osage tribe west of ninety-six degrees. The area of the tract should be equal to one hundred and sixty acres for each citizen of the Osage and Kaw tribes who might locate therein. The Cherokee commissioners were not authorized to agree upon a smaller price for the lands than one dollar and a quarter an acre.⁴⁷

On December 3, 1870, a copy of the act was sent to Agent Gibson at Montgomery, Kan. In a letter to Principal Chief Downing on December 16 he observed that the act did not authorize negotiations for Cherokee lands east of the ninety-sixth meridian, and that it also deprived the Osages from choosing their home from any Cherokee lands they might desire, west of that meridian, when taken in compact form. He set forth how faithfully the Osages and he had labored to bring about an agreement with the Cherokees, how at much expense, in poor quarters and amid disagreeable surroundings the delegation had remained two weeks in Tahlequah. He stated that friendship and brotherly love would certainly have prevailed but for a failure for which the Osages and he did not feel responsible. He explained that the Osages were scattered over the plains and that it would be impossible for them to hold a council with the Cherokees before spring. "Knowing as I do, somewhat of the feelings of both tribes on this subject," he said, "such a council, with your commissioners, under the limitations, and instructions of that Act, is an occasion to be avoided." He said that the offer of the Osages was twenty-five cents an acre for the tract they had selected; and that he deemed it of the utmost importance to both tribes that the disagreement between them should be submitted at once to the President as provided in the Cherokee treaty of 1866.⁴⁸

47. There is a copy of the act, approved December 1, 1870, in *ibid.*

48. Gibson to Downing, December 16, 1870; there is a copy of the letter in *ibid.*

On December 5, the day after he returned to Montgomery from Tahlequah, Gibson wrote to Hoag as follows: "The Osage delegation is sorely disgusted with the heartless avarice and duplicity of the Cherokees and I am ready to make war on their *Government* in a peaceable manner. They are *desperately* civilized, know how to raise corn and other feed about as well as the Osages do, but they are utterly unfit to carry on a Government and the sooner the U. S. Government takes the starch out of them the better it will be for their civilization and for affiliated and neighboring tribes of Indians. It is their meanness that has prevented me having Mills, Agency Buildings and other necessary work completed or in a fair state of progress before winter."—Letter of December 5, 1870, OIA, Neosho, H. 1668—1870.

On the same day Gibson addressed a statement of sixteen pages to Commissioner Parker in which he favorably reviewed for the Osages, their recent relations with the Cherokees.⁴⁹ He recommended that the matter of securing a reservation for the Osages be submitted to the President, and that the selection they had made be confirmed to them. He did not fail to say that they had been assured by the President's commissioners that they would not have to pay more than fifty cents per acre for the lands selected west of ninety-six degrees; and that it was with this understanding that they had agreed on September 10 to remove to the Indian territory. A sketch map which he enclosed with the statement showed the rectangular tract of land selected by the Osages to be equally divided by the ninety-sixth meridian as determined by the special survey, so that it included a strip eight and one third miles wide, extending from Kansas to the Creek country, east of said meridian as then determined.

In explaining why the Osages had selected one half of their lands east of the ninety-sixth meridian as then surveyed, Gibson said that the desirable agricultural land in the region west of that line was limited to a strip about three miles wide and sixty miles long, contiguous to the line. This small quantity of land, "in a string shape," was deemed insufficient by them. Gibson stated that the next eight and one third miles just west of the lands selected by the Osages was not worth five cents an acre for agricultural purposes. He said that it would be a misfortune for the Osages to receive it as a gift, compared to their securing the same number of acres east of the ninety-sixth meridian at a cost of five dollars an acre. Gibson continued:

The contrast between the surface of the country on the two sides of said line, is remarkable. On the West, the land rises from 200 to 500 feet, above the Cana River, and continues broken and rocky, and comparatively valueless, westward, to the Arkansas River. This broken range also continues South, parallel with said line, to the Arkansas River. The face of the country Southwest is of the same character. In exploring this wilderness, I have not found it possible to penetrate its recesses with a wagon, though it is said a California train many years ago, cut its way through these terrible passes to the Arkansas River, but there is no account of any one since, having the hardihood to repeat the undertaking. . . . The scenery is indeed wild, and grand, but certainly, it is not a fit place to settle wild Indians, and presume on Divine assistance in effecting their civilization. If educated white men were located here, the life they would be compelled to lead, would certainly lead them to barbarism, and starvation. Such is, unquestionably, the general character of the country

49. The statement is in OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 47—1871. Gibson also enclosed a copy of the correspondence between the Cherokees and Osages in regard to entering into negotiations for lands selected by the Osages.

between 96 and the Arkansas River, as I have found it by personal examination, and from the testimony of scores of Osages, who know it well, and also from other Indians, and white men, who traversed it during the war.⁵⁰

The surface East of 96, is a beautiful plain, rising gradually, from the Cana River to the dividing line between that river and the Verdigris; nearly every acre is plough-land and productive, small creeks, for stock water, occur at regular intervals, . . . with narrow belts of timber, though not enough for building and fencing purposes; this supply properly comes from the heavy timber, on the Cana, which . . . lies mostly west of 96; hence the natural appearance of the country, strikes the observer, at once, that the land lying contiguous to 96, should belong to the same people.

On January 12, 1871, Gibson wrote that the Osages must have one half of their reservation east of the ninety-sixth meridian, if money could buy it.⁵¹

On January 31 Commissioner Parker reviewed the petition addressed to the President by the Osages and presented by them to the President's commissioners on September 10, 1870. He observed that the Cherokee treaty of 1866 and the act of July 15, 1870, made provision for the quantity of land which the Osages should be allowed to purchase (being one hundred and sixty acres for each member of the tribe) and that no authority of law existed for allowing an increase in the quantity thereof. He considered the quantity provided for to be sufficient for all the reasonable wants or requirements of the Osages. He saw no objection to their request that they be allowed to hold their lands in common or to their request to hunt buffalo on public lands of the United States, and he recommended that both requests be granted. In his judgment the existing statutory provisions⁵² afforded ample authority to guarantee security and protection to the Indians against intruders. He deemed the claim of the Osages for compensation, in some substantial form, for the loss of the "school sections" in Kansas to be eminently just and proper, and he recommended that Congress be asked to give the matter favorable consideration.⁵³

On January 28 Parker requested the Cherokee delegation in Washington to submit to the Office of Indian Affairs at as early day

50. A more favorable description of the lands between the ninety-sixth meridian and the Arkansas was given in the report by Agt. L. J. Miles to Com. Ind. Aff., August 11, 1883, *Indian Affairs*, 1883, p. 73. The Osage allotting commission found the Osage reservation to be about forty percent "prairie and river bottom agricultural land," forty percent "very fine pasture land" and twenty percent "rough waste land."—C. E. McChesney to Com. Ind. Aff., March 31, 1909, OIA, 25231—1909—313 Osage.

51. Gibson to Vincent Colyer, *Rpt. of Bd. of Ind. Commissioners, 1870*, pp. 84-85. Gibson said that the Cherokees had dodged around in a most aggravating way and had annoyed the Osages and him "about this land beyond ordinary endurance."

52. 4 *Statutes*, 729; 11 *Statutes*, 332.

53. Parker to Sec. Int., January 31, 1871, *H. Ex. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 3 Sess., v. XII (1460), No. 181, pp. 2-4.

as possible such objections, if any, as they might deem proper to present to the selection of reservations for the Osages and Kaws, a portion of the lands embraced in the same to be east of ninety-six degrees, in the Cherokee country.⁵⁴ In a reply on February 2 the delegation quoted from their instructions, given by the Cherokee national council under date of December 14, 1870, stating that they were without authority to limit, cede or dispose of, any part of the domain of the Cherokee nation east of ninety-six degrees, or to admit or incorporate any Indians therein, without the approval of the national council. They called attention to the fact that they were instructed to provide for the extension of the western boundary of the Cherokee reserved lands, so as to include east of said boundary all Cherokees, and recognized citizens of the Cherokee nation. Article fifteen of the Cherokee treaty of 1866 provided for the settlement of "civilized" Indians on Cherokee lands east of ninety-six degrees. The delegation stated that it was well known that neither the Osages nor Kaws were "civilized" but were known as "blanket Indians" who lived by the chase, and hence did not come within the class of Indians designated in the article. They endeavored to show that the article provided that settlement should be made as whole tribes or as individuals and not as fractions of tribes. In their opinion article sixteen of the treaty did not authorize the cutting in two of Indian tribes by the line of ninety-six degrees in settling them upon Cherokee lands. They noted that if the survey of that line when "properly made" should cut in two, lands assigned to the Osages and Kaws, the political situation for these tribes would be embarrassing. The delegation also said:

The Cherokees have reluctantly yielded to a painful necessity in assenting to sell their lands as far east as 96°, and are strongly opposed to making any further cessions. They would *en masse* sharply oppose any such location of the Osage and Kansas Tribes as you have suggested, and the enforcement upon them of any such arrangement, at once so impalatable and so *unexpected* would almost unavoidably result in a ruption of the present friendly relations between the Cherokees and these Tribes.

The delegation observed that article fifteen of the treaty of 1866 provided for the settlement of Indians, "friendly with the Cherokees," east of the ninety-sixth meridian. They stated that since 1868 the Osages had frequently appealed to the Cherokees to let them have the country on both sides of the "upper Caney river," believed to be east of ninety-six degrees; and that when the Osages

54. Parker to W. P. Adair, January 28, 1871, OIA, (Large) "Letter Book 100," pp. 151-152.

were informed at their council at Montgomery in August, 1870, that the line was east of said part of the river, they expressed great satisfaction that it had been so determined. It was also noted that the Osage petition of September 10 following had made no mention of securing lands east of ninety-six degrees. In conclusion the delegation remarked:

We are personally acquainted with many of the leading men and chiefs of the Osages, and have never heard them express any dissatisfaction at the idea of settling west of 96°, but from the *agent* of the Osages, we have heard *much* argument in his efforts to show that the location west of 96° would be unsuitable for the future home of the Osages, according to *his* theories.⁵⁵

On February 16 Commissioner Parker outlined the history of the controversy relative to settling the Osages and Kaws on Cherokee lands on both sides of the ninety-sixth meridian. He recommended (in case the Secretary of the Interior and the President were of the opinion that authority existed therefor under the provisions of the Cherokee treaty of 1866) that the location of the two tribes upon the tract of country selected and desired by them for their future homes, be approved, and that the price to be paid by them to the Cherokees therefor, be fixed by the President at twenty-five cents per acre, and further, that an executive order be issued authorizing the Office of Indian Affairs to have such tracts set off and assigned to the Osage and Kaw tribes, the boundaries thereof distinctly designated, and the price to be fixed thereon named. He further recommended that the sum of twenty-five cents per acre be fixed as the uniform price for all the Cherokee lands west of the ninety-sixth meridian.⁵⁶

Secretary Delano on February 24 set forth the conclusion that according to the Cherokee treaty of 1866 none but civilized Indians could lawfully settle within the Cherokee country east of the ninety-sixth meridian, and that the Osages, "not falling within that description," could not lawfully settle there. According to article sixteen of the treaty he said it would seem that a district of Cherokee country west of the said meridian to be occupied by a tribe of Indians, must be distinctly marked and set apart before the President could determine the price of the lands included therein, under the provisions of the article.⁵⁷ The next day Commissioner Parker advised Superintendent Hoag of the conclusion set forth by Delano,

55. Lewis Downing et al. to Parker, February 2, 1871, OIA, Cent. Supt., D. 35—1871.

56. Parker to Sec. Int., February 16, 1871, OIA, "Report Book 20," pp. 206-213.

57. Delano to Sen. James Harlan, February 24, 1871, OIA, Ind. Div., "Letters Indian Affairs," v. 18, Pt. I, pp. 119-126. Delano to Com. Ind. Aff., February 24, 1871, OIA, Cherokee, I. 158—1871. The Osages at that time were "tribal Indians and not highly civilized." Sue M. Rogers v. The Osage Nation, 45 Ct. Cls. 388 (1910).

but stated that any selection by the Osages of Cherokee lands, west of the ninety-sixth meridian, to the extent and in the manner provided by law would be approved.⁵⁸

An article succeeding this one will explain how the location of the ninety-sixth meridian caused commotion among the Osages and Cherokees, how President Grant settled the disputed price of lands, and how the Osages secured a reservation on the southern border of Kansas.

58. Telegram from Parker to Hoag, February 25, 1871, OIA, (Large) "Letter Book 100," p. 272.

(*To be concluded in the November Quarterly.*)

Some Kansas Rain Makers

MARTHA B. CALDWELL

IN the Kinsley *Graphic* of February 3, 1938, appeared a full-page advertisement of twenty-five business men of Kinsley under the heading "WE WANT SNOW OR RAIN." They asked for one-half inch of moisture on or before February 17. To prove their faith in the value of advertising they agreed to pay double for the ads "upon the delivery of said moisture," and in case it did not arrive, the *Graphic* and Mrs. Cora Lewis, its editor, were to stand the cost. This advertisement was resorted to in a spirit of fun and to help keep up the morale of the people of Kinsley who were becoming disheartened by the prolonged drought.

When the Associated Press carried a short announcement of this unique appeal to the power of advertising, Mrs. Lewis and the *Graphic* suddenly found themselves famous. Letters from all parts of the country offered advice, criticism and assistance. A Dodge City editor offered to furnish a rain maker, but the *Graphic* declined with the pertinent observation that Dodge's drought was still unbroken. A woman from New York advised that they try the Indians for rain, saying that they are "very close to the forces that govern the natural events of the planets." A Nashville, Tenn., woman offered to come to Kinsley and pray for rain (for a stipulated sum) and guaranteed success. A New York City business man had such great faith in advertising that he wanted to sell the *Graphic* a motor boat. An Emporia man, referring to the Kinsley region as the "Dry West End," said he was eager to do his part and sent a bottle of Neosho river water.

As the dead line of February 17 approached it began to look as if the pulling power of *Graphic* display space was about to be discredited. But on the morning of the 16th it began to mist and by 10 o'clock the *Graphic*'s contract had been fulfilled with .03 of an inch to spare. As a matter of official record the total amount of rainfall was .95 of an inch including three inches of snow. The long drought which had begun November 1 was broken.

This demonstration of successful advertising naturally was received with great glee by newspapers all over the country. Old-timers began remembering other rain-making attempts in the state.

The subject of weather making is an old one, dating back to ancient times. The methods employed have varied from the incan-

tations and forms of fetishism used by the pagans to the more practical and scientific attempts of modern people. Much has been written on the subject; a large part of the literature being produced during the period from 1890 to 1894.

These writers had various theories as to the methods of producing rain. A French author suggested using a kite to obtain electrical connections with the clouds. James P. Espy, a meteorologist from Pennsylvania, proposed the method of making rain by means of fires. This idea is prevalent on the Western Plains where the saying, "A very large prairie fire will cause rain," has almost become a proverb. The Indians on the plains of South America were accustomed to setting fire to the prairies when they wanted rain. A third method patented by Louis Gathman in 1891 was based on the supposition that sudden chilling of the upper atmosphere by releasing compressed gases would cause rapid evaporation and thus produce rain.¹ One of the oldest theories of producing artificial rain is known as the concussion theory, or that of generating moisture by great explosions. The idea originated from the supposition that heavy rains follow great battles. Gen. Daniel Ruggles of Fredericksburg, Va., obtained a patent on the concussion theory in 1880, and urged congress to appropriate funds for testing it.²

By 1890 the subject of artificial rain making had attained considerable dignity; two patents had been issued and through the efforts of Sen. C. B. Farwell, congress had made appropriations, \$2,000 first, and then \$7,000 to carry on experiments. In 1892 an additional appropriation of \$10,000 was made to continue the work.³ The carrying out of these experiments naturally fell to the Department of Agriculture, and the secretary selected R. G. Dryenforth to conduct them.⁴ In 1891 Mr. Dryenforth⁵ with his assistants proceeded to the "Staked Plains of Texas" to begin work. Included in the equipment which he took with him were sixty-eight explosive balloons, three large balloons for making ascensions, and material for making one hundred cloth covered kites, besides the necessary explosives, etc. He used the explosives both on the ground and in the air. An observer stated that "it was a beautiful imitation of a battle."⁶ The balloons filled with gas were exploded high in the atmosphere. After a series of experiments carried on in different parts

1. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1894, p. 263.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

3. *Statutes of the United States of America*, 1891-1892, p. 76.

4. *Annual Report*, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, p. 265.

5. Robert G. Dryenforth was at the time a patent and corporation lawyer in Washington.

6. *The Globe Republican*, Dodge City, October 22, 1891.

of Texas over a period of two years, his conclusions were to the effect that under favorable conditions precipitation may be caused by concussion, and that under unfavorable conditions "storm conditions may be generated and rain be induced, there being, however, a wasteful expenditure of both time and material in overcoming unfavorable conditions." But the conclusions of Prof. A. MacFarlane, a physicist of the University of Texas, who was an "uninvited guest" at some of the experiments, were adverse to the rain makers.⁷

The government tests were much talked about and tended to make the people weather-making conscious. Individuals throughout the United States began to experiment with other theories. The interest in these operations was greatly increased by the drought which began in 1891 and continued for several years.

Kansas, like other Western states, suffered a severe dry spell in 1891. Conditions in the early part of the year had been quite favorable, rain falling in sufficient quantities to mature the early crops, but at the last of July the drought set in and the corn and other grains began to wither under a scorching sun and hot winds. The farmers in their helpless condition were ready to grasp at the last straw, which in this case happened to be the rain maker.

The fame of Frank Melbourne, said to be an Australian, as a "rain wizard" had spread throughout the country. Marvelous stories were told of his operations at Canton, Ohio, where he was said to so control the weather that he could "bring rain at a given hour." Since he was fond of outdoor sports he "so adjusted his machine that all the Sunday rains come late in the afternoon, after the baseball games and horse races for the day are over."⁸ Mr. Melbourne said his machine was "so simple that were its character known to the public every man would soon own one and bring rain whenever he felt like it." The editor of the Hutchinson *News* thought there would be serious objections to this for "there could never be a political barbecue without all the rain machines of the opposition being set in motion," and the "infidels would spoil all the campmeetings and the church people ruin the horse races."⁹ He feared there would be continual strife in every community. Mr. Melbourne expressed the belief that he could be more successful in Colorado or Kansas than in Ohio, and the Goodland *News* wrote: "If it is a square deal it is probable that the solution of the rain question in western Kansas and Colorado has been solved."¹⁰

7. *Annual Report*, Smithsonian Institution, 1894, pp. 265-267.

8. The Hutchinson (Daily) *News*, August 4, 1891.

9. *Ibid.*

10. The Goodland *News*, August 6, 1891.

About the first of September A. B. Montgomery, of Goodland, wrote to Mr. Melbourne at Cheyenne, Wyo., with a view of getting him to come to Goodland. The rain maker replied that his charge for a good rain was five hundred dollars, and that his rain would reach from fifty to one hundred miles in all directions from the place. A meeting to consider the matter of making a contract was held at the courthouse. It was apparently an enthusiastic one with a large crowd in attendance. Two committees were appointed, one to contract with Mr. Melbourne and another to make arrangements for the occasion. A considerable sum was raised at the meeting and the citizens were admonished not to shirk their duty in the effort to have Mr. Melbourne there on or about September 25. "Let every farmer who is able act promptly and contribute to this fund," advised the *Goodland News*, "and we will give to Goodland and Sherman county a valid boom such as they have never enjoyed before."¹¹

The purse of five hundred dollars having been raised, the papers announced that Melbourne would be in Goodland the 25th. Plans were made for a great occasion. The county fair was to continue over Saturday. The Rock Island gave one and one-eighth rates from all points along the road. People were expected from all over the country, Gov. Lyman Humphrey and his staff, and Sec. Martin Mohler and members of the State Board of Agriculture were to be Goodland's guests. Saturday was to be the eventful day with horse racing, speaking and other entertainment culminating in a grand ball in the evening.¹²

A two-story building twelve by fourteen feet and fourteen feet high was built on the fair grounds for the operations of the rain maker. The upper story, containing four windows facing the different points of the compass, was Melbourne's work room. The room also contained a hole in the roof four inches in diameter for the escape of rain-making gases. The lower room was used by Melbourne's brother and his manager who served as sort of a body guard to the rain maker.

In the meantime a dispatch from Cheyenne announced that rain was falling, that Melbourne had two liberal offers from Texas, two from Colorado, and inquiries from Kansas. Following this, a message from Kelton, Utah, stated that Melbourne had produced rain at that place. This was considered most remarkable for Kelton was "in the midst of a desert and about the dryest spot in the union."¹³

11. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1891.

12. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1891.

13. *Ibid.*

The rain-making experiment of course was the topic of conversation in Goodland and interesting comments were heard. One man said that he would not give anything "because it was interfering with the Lord's business and harm would come out of it." Another declared he "did not believe in it and the first thing we knew we would have a hell of a tornado here that would blow the town from the face of the earth." Still another asserted that "it was a humbug because the clouds were beyond the reach of man and controlled by the Lord and when man went to tampering with them he was setting himself up against the divine powers."¹⁴ Opposed to these were many who expressed their faith and gave the proposal their hearty support.

Mr. Melbourne, with his brother and manager, F. H. Jones, arrived on Saturday, the 26th, and were met at the station by the committee and a crowd of curious people. Much to his dismay light showers fell on the 25th and 26th and it was decided to postpone operations until Tuesday, during which time his expenses of ten dollars a day were paid by the committee. This was considered necessary to keep him from going to Topeka in answer to a call. Again on Tuesday night a light shower fell, but on Wednesday he took his rain apparatus to the fair grounds to begin work. He performed his work in great secrecy; no one was allowed within the building, and to keep the inquisitive from coming too close a rope barrier was erected about twenty feet from the building and the windows were curtained. However, everyone went up and "gazed" at the building and the small hole in the roof through which cloud-making substances escaped. "It was no more than looking at any frame shed," wrote one, "but to know that inside a man was dealing in the mysterious, made the place a curiosity."¹⁵

Hard work all day Wednesday and Thursday failed to produce anything but clouds which were soon driven away by the wind. The wind kept up a continuous gale of thirty or forty miles an hour from the southwest, driving the gases to the northeast, where it was reported, heavy rains fell. According to the *Goodland News*, any number of telegrams and letters were received asking that Melbourne be "shut off," that they were having heavier rains than had ever been known at that time of the year. Melbourne was said to have predicted this, and therefore was thought to have caused the rains. Consequently the committee in charge decided to "shut him off" and he quit work at noon Friday until the weather settled. Sunday he

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1891.

resumed work and on Monday a light shower fell which was attributed to his efforts. He was also credited with a good rain that fell at Shermanville on Tuesday, but as this was not within the limits of his territory he failed to get his pay and the citizens of Goodland were out only about fifty dollars.

In spite of Melbourne's failure many Goodland citizens still had faith in him, accepting his alibi, that cool nights and heavy winds were not conducive to rain making. A prominent man in the town expressed his belief in the honesty of Melbourne's pretensions, and thought that he deserved credit for the lengthy trial he had made.¹⁶ The confidence of the people in his ability was further expressed in a proposition presented to him to produce crop rains in forty western counties at ten cents a cultivated acre. This would amount to about \$20,000. Whereupon *The Globe Republican*, of Dodge City, commented: "If Kansans are gullible enough, and Providence helps the wizard out with one or two coincident wet spells, this is liable to prove a good thing for Melbourne, who, of course, is not in the business for his health."¹⁷ Melbourne was given sixty days to decide upon the offer, and on Tuesday, October 13, he left for Omaha, Neb.

Shortly after Melbourne's departure the news came out that a company had been formed in Goodland and "after much argument and work a contract was entered into between Mr. Melbourne and the company, whereby the company was to be told the secret, furnished with a machine and allowed to operate in any part of the country."¹⁸ It appeared that the tests, supposedly made by Melbourne on Saturday, October 10, were made by members of the company under Melbourne's instructions. The company failed to divulge the terms of the agreement. The name chosen for the organization was the Inter-State Artificial Rain Company; the officers were E. F. Murphy, president; H. E. Don Carlos, secretary; H. M. Haller, treasurer; M. B. Tomblin, A. B. Montgomery, O. H. Smith and L. Morris, directors. A. B. Montgomery went to Topeka to obtain a charter, and while there visited the attorney general to see if the laws of irrigation might not be applied to rain making. The plan of the company was to divide western Kansas into districts and for a certain amount supply each district with sufficient rains for the growth and maturing of crops. A central station was to be established from which "rain-making squads" were to be sent out when needed. By spring they expected to have all preparations

16. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1891.

17. *The Globe Republican*, Dodge City, December 10, 1891.

18. *Goodland News*, October 22, 1891.

made and be ready "to furnish rain to the farmers while they wait."¹⁹

In the meantime until time for operations in Kansas, the company decided to make tests in Oklahoma and Texas. Five members left for the south, and on October 27 a dispatch from Oklahoma City announced that they had brought a good rain, the first for a period of six weeks.²⁰ They appeared jubilant over their success. On October 30, Mr. Murphy wrote to M. B. Tomblin, "I tell you, Marve, we have got the world by the horns with a down-hill pull and can all wear diamonds pretty soon. We can water all creation and have some to spare."²¹

From Oklahoma the rain makers proceeded to Texas, beginning work at Temple, November 1. According to dispatches they were highly successful at this place also, and were negotiating a sale of their secret to a stock company for, it was understood, \$50,000.²² When the deal was closed the party left for home.

Early in January, 1892, a gentleman from Tulare, Cal., appeared in Goodland to do business with the rain company. After signing several contracts he left, accompanied by Mr. Murphy and Mr. Smith, taking with them their "ironbound trunk" supposed to contain the machine and other "combustables." In due time numerous reports from Tulare and Pixley reached Goodland stating that the experiments had been a great success. At Huron they produced not only rain, but also thunder and lightning, something that had never been known there before at that time of the year. Here again they were said to have sold the rain-making secret and the rights to the Tulare district "for a good round sum," which would make "a neat balance in the treasury."²³ On their return home the Goodland *News* glowingly wrote:

It is a happy hour for Goodland to know that she is not only the Mecca of the home seeker; the innermost chamber of these broad plains; the morning star among a hundred towns of western Kansas, but also that she holds within her grasp the scepter that even sways the clouds. It's a happy hour to know that we have but to smite the rock (a la Moses) and the water cometh forth. We are the people.

The rain makers—E. F. Murphy and O. H. Smith—have returned from California and bring with them not only assured success, but much California gold.²⁴

19. *The Globe Republican*, Dodge City, October 22, 1891.

20. *Goodland News*, October 29, 1891.

21. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1891.

22. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1891.

23. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1892.

24. *Ibid.*

The reported success of the Inter-State Artificial Rain Company inspired others to enter the field, and early in 1892 two other rain companies were organized at Goodland. The Swisher Rain Company of Goodland was chartered January 13, with a capital stock of \$100,000. Dr. W. B. Swisher, president of the company, had been experimenting for some time with various chemicals with results so satisfactory to him that he decided to form a company for the purpose of producing rain by artificial means, making contracts for the same and doing business. Members of this company likewise went to Texas and Mexico to operate until the weather warmed up in Kansas. They then expected to return and give northwestern Kansas the benefit of their knowledge for a "moderate sum." According to reports which arrived frequently Doctor Swisher's success was equal to that of the Artificial Rain Company. He was said to have made a contract with the people of San Pedro to produce two inches of rain, receiving \$30,000 if successful.²⁵ Returning in May he was also said to have brought home a good sum of money.

The third company to organize in Goodland was the Goodland Artificial Rain Company, chartered February 11, with J. H. Stewart as president. Its capital stock was \$100,000 and its purpose as stated in the charter was "to furnish water for the public by artificial rainfall by scientific methods and to contract for services for the same, and to sell and dispose of the right to use our process in any city, township, county, state, territory or country."²⁶ All these companies claimed to use the Melbourne method of producing rain.

As inquiries were coming in from all quarters for information concerning the operations of the Goodland rain companies, and contracts were being made right and left the citizens of Goodland and Sherman county decided that they should make plans early for the next season's rains, otherwise they might be "left out in the dry." On January 23 a meeting was held, but little was accomplished. The rain companies presented two propositions, one to furnish rain for the season at half a cent an acre, the other to give the same amount of rain for three cents a cultivated acre. A committee was appointed to ascertain the amount of cultivated land in the county, and another to confer with the rain companies as to the best terms. Some looked upon the companies with suspicion, since they were home companies, and others were a little jealous that they had no part in the handsome profits said to have been gained. However, they were all urged not to let anything delay action in making arrangements.

25. *Ibid.*, May 12, 19, 1892.

26. Kansas, "Corporations," copybooks, v. 44, p. 254.

Competition also developed among the rain companies; they were underbidding each other. This came out at a meeting held early in February when the Inter-State Artificial Rain Company proposed to furnish rain for the crop season for \$2,500, the Swisher company for \$2,000 and the Goodland Artificial Rain Company made an offer of \$1,500. The committee of five appointed at this meeting to draw up a plan recommended that an executive committee consisting of thirteen, one from each voting precinct, be given power to make a contract with any company, to "have said contract printed as headings for subscriptions in such a manner as to be binding upon each subscriber to pay the amount subscribed by him"; to be judge as to the sufficiency of rainfall, and to settle all disputes. The committee also recommended that township committees be made permanent, with the duty of circulating subscriptions and collecting the same, for which service they were to receive a percent of the amount collected.²⁷

June found the rain makers back in Kansas preparing to save their native state. They were, according to reports, receiving dispatches and letters from all over the West, "asking them to come and make rain."²⁸ On June 27 E. F. Murphy began an experiment at Mankato, under contract to produce half an inch of rain over Jewell county within five days for \$500, and rain falling within the time was to be evidence that he had produced it. An enterprising merchant took advantage of the occasion with the following advertisement:

THE RAIN-MAKER IS HERE

Call early at our Store and buy one of our Silk, Serge, or Satine Umbrellas. If you want to use them for sun umbrellas they especially answer that purpose.²⁹

Comment of the Jewell county editors tended to ridicule the proceedings. The *Jewell County Monitor* of June 29 declared that when the rain maker commenced "there were a few clouds in the sky, but he got his machine bottom-side up and dispelled the few there were and at present writing it is clear as a bell." The *Jewell County Republican*, Jewell City, of July 1, was of the opinion that Mr. Rain Maker was "simply betting his time against \$500 that it will rain between Monday and the Sunday following." But as the paper went to press it announced that a good rain was falling. Four days after Mr. Murphy began operating a copious rain fell over Jewell

27. The *Goodland Republic*, February 5, 1892.

28. The *Goodland News*, June 30, 1892.

29. *Jewell County Monitor*, Mankato, June 29, 1892.

county. His contract having been fulfilled he received four hundred dollars. A few failing to come up to their promise, he threw off one hundred dollars.

The first week in July the rain companies were at work at various places. Doctor Rush and O. H. Smith made tests at Jennings and got rain, but a dispute arose as to the pay. The half inch contracted for fell short within the town, although that amount fell on either side; hence some refused to pay their pledges. L. Morris was highly successful at St. Francis, rain falling in quantities "never before seen in this county" at that time of the year.³⁰ Doctor Swisher at Colby failed to produce rain in the stated amount and therefore lost his pay. Swisher was accused of taking the credit for all the rain that fell in Thomas county. One editor remarked that "Hereafter Providence will get credit only for hail-storms and cyclones, but in time it is expected that the Goodland rain makers will take full charge of the universe."³¹

Professor Melbourne was also in Kansas, having contracted to produce a half-inch rain over an area of 6,000 square miles in the vicinity of Belleville for \$500. He was apparently losing in fame and popularity, and perhaps in profits, to the Goodland companies. He therefore wrote a letter to the Denver *Rocky Mountain News* in which he asserted that he did not "stoop to notice" the Goodland rain makers or their methods; that he had never at any time been connected with them in a business way, and that he knew positively that he had kept his method of producing rain a secret. He also declared that he had never offered or agreed to sell to any person or state his method of rain producing.³²

In answer to Mr. Melbourne, C. B. Jewell inserted a letter in the *Rocky Mountain News* informing him that no inventor had yet reached that point where he could "wrap the drapery of his couch about him and lie down to pleasant dreams," confident that his invention would not be equalled or improved upon. That the best men of all ages have met their equals and been lost sight of in this progressive age by the invention and improvements of comparatively unknown persons. He assured Mr. Melbourne that the Goodland rain companies with which he was in no way connected, were in full possession of the Melbourne secret, as was he himself, and they had been successful in more than thirty different parts of the United States and Old Mexico. As to their success in Sherman county he stated, "the

30. *Goodland News*, July 7, 1892; *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 14, 1892.

31. *Stockton Record*, reprint in *Goodland News*, July 7, 1892.

32. *Goodland News*, July 21, 1892.

farmers in this county have placed injunctions against them to prevent them from making any more rain until after harvest." He closed by saying, "My duties as chief dispatcher for the Rock Island road at this point prevent me from making tests in the arid regions of this country and Old Mexico, as I should like to. But in a short time I will have men of capital associated with me who will do this—men whose character and honesty, like the members of the three rain companies here, cannot be questioned."³³ Mr. Jewell's expectations were realized the next year.

The rain companies were seemingly very busy during the month of July. Demands were so heavy that they could not be filled at once. Citizens of Burlington, Coffey county, becoming alarmed about the dry, hot weather, decided to appeal to the Inter-State Artificial Rain Company for relief. They were informed that the company's operators were all out at the time, but one could be furnished in a few days. But before the reply reached Burlington an inch rain fell. An editor of Burlington expressed great faith in a rain company where simply writing to them would bring rain.³⁴

A general rain occurred on July 28 and 29 and greatly aided the rain makers. They were all in the field and, consequently, reaped the benefit of the downpour. Fred Albee and Parson Stewart were in Morris county and Mr. Stewart wired from Council Grove: "Big rain here. The people are satisfied. Got the money."³⁵ E. F. Murphy and O. H. Smith were operating in Lincoln county; L. Morris and George Montgomery in Cloud county; Doctor Rush and W. D. Jeffery in Mitchell county; A. B. Montgomery was at Wakefield and while there was visited by Sen. John K. Wright and W. H. Mackey, Jr., of Junction City; Doctor Swisher, experimenting at Lincoln, sent the following message: "July 28.—Rain as per contract. Time, 48 hours. Two inches of rainfall. Still raining."³⁶ All the rain makers naturally were successful and returned to Goodland at the end of the week bringing with them the sum of \$2,000. One of them, for some unknown reason, failed to get his pay. The rain extended over Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri and was predicted by the weather bureau and the Weather Prophet Hicks. The editor of the Topeka *Capital* remarked: "No doubt dupes will multiply as a result of the alleged success of the experiments this week-end

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Burlington Republican*, July 15, 1892.

35. *Goodland Republic*, July 29, 1892.

36. *Ibid.*

and the rain makers will make an excellent livelihood off the credulity of the farmers."³⁷

After spending the week at headquarters the rain operators set out again. At this time Doctor Swisher removed to his old home in Lincoln, Neb. He was said to have taken with him his chemicals and expected to continue his experiments in his native state. An operator began work at Council Grove, August 4, having made a contract to produce a certain amount of rain within a radius of ten miles of Council Grove by six o'clock Saturday night, August 6, for \$400. The people were greatly interested in the experiment. Some had so much faith in the rain maker's ability that they "carried huge umbrellas under their arms" wherever they went.³⁸ Saturday night by six o'clock the sky was clear, but the rain maker was persistent and continued his work. On Monday, however, a bright sky and a dry, sultry atmosphere induced him to pack up his things and quietly leave town.

At Fort Scott the rain maker had a similar experience. On August 6 a member of the Inter-State Artificial Rain Company arrived there to fulfill a contract whereby he was to produce a rainfall of an average depth of one-half inch over an area of 500 square miles within three days. If successful he would receive \$1,000. Failing to furnish the required amount, he begged for more time, but the people turned a deaf ear to his pleadings and he departed, mourning the loss of his money. Perhaps a greater misfortune befell a rain operator in a Nebraska town when a heavy rain fell the day before he arrived and just a day too soon for him to claim his \$2,500. But a rain maker at Minden was still more unlucky. Upon his failure, the citizens "tied him to a telegraph pole, turned the hose of the fire company on him and showed [him] how it could make it rain."³⁹

In September the interest in rain making began to wane, giving way to politics. Populism was at its height in Kansas and the campaign was a most exciting one. One of the candidates for state representative from Sherman county was Fred A. Albee, a member of the Goodland Artificial Rain Company. He, however, met with opposition in his own party, many Republicans being prejudiced against him because of his rain-making activities. An editor of the other party came to his defense, declaring—

the Goodland Rain Company has never done anything that should prejudice the mind of any honest citizen against them. They have never sold one

37. *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 30, 1892.

38. *Council Grove Republican*, August 12, 1892.

39. *Jewell County Republican*, Jewell City, August 26, 1892.

dollar's worth of stock, nor offered to sell any. They have never defrauded any one nor in any way sought to get money on the rain-making experiment but on the condition of "no rain, no pay." We are on the opposite side of the political fence, but we cheerfully accord to Mr. Albee honesty and uprightness of dealing as a member of the rain company. To our mind this is no objection to his candidacy, but he has pitched his tent with the party of retrogression and oppression, and is an apologist for corporate spoliation and the rule of greed.⁴⁰

The editor may have been sincere or he may have thought Mr. Albee an easy candidate to defeat.

An unusual dry spell in May, 1893, revived the subject of rain making, and Goodland again came to the rescue. C. B. Jewell, chief train dispatcher for the Rock Island at Goodland, had been quietly experimenting in the rain-making field since Melbourne's visit. He thought he had discovered Melbourne's method, and during spare time he pursued his investigation with apparent success. He was, however, handicapped by lack of means to operate on an extensive scale. But in the spring of 1893 his experiments attracted the officials of the Rock Island railroad company, and they offered to furnish him everything necessary to conduct his work and to make a thorough test of the theory of rain making. Being an expert electrician and believing that electricity greatly assisted the work, he had placed at his disposal the electric batteries along the road from Topeka to Colorado Springs. The company also furnished him with balloons for experimenting with the concussion theory. A freight box car partitioned off was to be his laboratory and living quarters, and he was to operate at points along the line.

On April 30 the Rock Island sent Mr. Jewell \$250 worth of chemicals, and on the following day, he with his assistant, Harry Hutchinson, began experimenting at the Goodland depot. The cool nights hindered the work somewhat, but on Wednesday a heavy rain fell in the southern part of the county, and on Friday a general rain began to fall, continuing in showers until Sunday noon. It was said to be the first general rain since August. Mr. Jewell, of course, claimed that the rain was the result of his efforts, and it was difficult to prove the contrary.

The rain makers now started out along the road making experiments at various places. They arrived at Meade Center on June 1. Here the Rock Island people made extensive preparations for the visit. Invitations, extended to the citizens of Dodge City, were accepted by Mayor Gluck, G. M. Hoover and many other persons. Instead of the air of mystery and secrecy maintained by other rain makers,

40. *Goodland Republic*, October 7, 1892.

Mr. Jewell allowed visitors in his laboratory and explained to them his methods, with the exception of revealing the materials used and the manner of compounding them. He explained that he used four jars to generate the gases, and utilized the circuit batteries to establish electrical communication with the clouds.⁴¹ On June 2 a light rain began falling, but not in sufficient quantities, and dynamite was fired into the air to assist the gases. Mr. Jewell wired the general superintendent of the road that the wind was blowing too hard to produce rain at Meade, but that a rain should fall in the vicinity of Salina. This happened as predicted, as on the next day a heavy rain was reported to have fallen there. After five days of continuous work, reports differed as to the success of the experiment. The Hutchinson *News* and the St. Louis papers reported a "copious downpour" lasting two hours. These reports caused the *Meade County Globe* to wonder what interest it was to the press "to lie in this manner and deceive," stating that the "downpour consisted of a sprinkle that was not sufficient to lay the dust."⁴²

From Meade the Jewell company proceeded to Dodge City, arriving on June 6. They began work at once surrounded by a crowd of spectators. People had driven for miles to witness the experiment. The natural condition of the atmosphere, being unfavorable for rain, gave the rain makers a chance to work on their own merits. On June 7 a representative of *The Globe Republican* visited their car and expressed his surprise that "they did not wear bald heads, long beards, nor forms bowed down by years of accumulated wisdom, but were a couple of hale and hearty young men," with frank, unreserved manner. He found "no air of mystery or complicated contrivances calculated to mystify the people."⁴³ The experiment, nevertheless, was not a success. A high wind blowing continually from the time they commenced, scattered the gases and only a sprinkle fell on Thursday night. The rain makers claimed to be responsible for a rain that fell at Meade, and so were not disheartened at their failure at Dodge City, explaining that the wind carried the chemicals several miles and that the rain did not fall in any quantity where they were sent up. "Only on a calm day," said Jewell, "will it rain at the point where the experiment is made."⁴⁴

Mr. Jewell alternated along the Rock Island between the southwest and northwest. The last week in June he was operating in

41. *The Globe Republican*, Dodge City, June 2, 1893; *Goodland News*, June 8, 1893.

42. *Meade County Globe*, Meade, June 8, 1893.

43. *The Globe Republican*, Dodge City, June 9, 1893.

44. *Goodland News*, June 15, 1893.

Phillips county, beginning work at Phillipsburg Tuesday, the 27th. Tuesday night a good rain fell and on Wednesday night it rained so hard the people began to fear a flood. "If this wetting is due to Mr. Jewell, give him credit for it," wrote the Phillipsburg editor, "and if it is it isn't costing anybody a cent, so let's don't hear any loud words about it."⁴⁵ At this place Mr. Jewell also used rockets. He remodeled and filled them with chemicals, so arranged as to explode with the explosion of the rocket when at its greatest height. He considered this most effective at Phillipsburg.

Returning to the southwest the rain makers began a test in Seward county where, it was reported, no rain had fallen for ten months. On Monday, July 3, they reached Liberal and commenced work in the evening, expecting to continue until Saturday unless an abundant rain fell in the meantime. After less than a week's effort they were unsuccessful and left town. The comment of the *Liberal News* of July 13 was, "This country is too 'tuff' for anybody but the Almighty and the rain makers had to give it up." At the same time the editor at Meade attributed the dry, hot weather in that part of the state to the working of Mr. Jewell at Liberal.⁴⁶

Mr. Jewell was seemingly more successful in the northwestern part of the state. On July 9 he concluded an experiment at Jennings, in Decatur county, where a rainfall was reported to have extended twenty-five miles east and forty-five miles west of town.

During this time the rain makers had carried on their work in the box car with which they started out, but Superintendent Allen was planning a specially constructed car for them. When it was finished they contemplated a rain-making trip through Iowa and Illinois, ending in Chicago in time for "Kansas Week" at the fair. Mr. Jewell thought that the week would not be complete without a sample of genuine Kansas weather. A man in Canada, hearing of his expected visit, urged him to hasten to the world's fair and bring down such a rain every Sunday morning as would prevent all attendance on that day. And the *Chicago Times* warned him that he had better not "give an exhibition of his abilities as a Pluvian influencer at the world's fair." It stated, "Chicago doesn't believe much in rain making, but if Jewell fools around the fair grounds and it should rain it will be a bad job for Jewell, that's all."⁴⁷

No account is given of Jewell's visit to the fair, nor of a deluge in Chicago during "Kansas Week." He may have thought it a more

45. *Phillipsburg Dispatch*, June 29, 1893.

46. *Meade County Globe*, Meade, July 13, 1893.

47. Reprint in *Goodland News*, June 29, 1893.

thrilling experience to relieve the suffering "strip boomers." At any rate he left Caldwell Friday, September 15, and began operations at Hennessey, Okla., the same day. A dispatch sent to Goodland Monday night stated that rain was falling on the strip.⁴⁸

The three rain companies of Goodland which received so much publicity during 1892 were seemingly completely eclipsed by C. B. Jewell so that little was heard from them. They, no doubt, had a hard time competing with his free experiments. A. B. Montgomery continued to be enthusiastic on the subject, and was attempting to secure a patent on the Inter-State Rain Company's rain-making process. At a convention in Wichita he explained that his company had operated in Sherman county but three times during the season. In July when the hot winds were about to ruin the wheat the company began operations and within twenty-four hours the hot winds had ceased and the temperature had dropped, and on the fourth day two inches of rain fell. The company made this experiment at their own expense, the people refusing to contribute. As a result Mr. Montgomery stated that Sherman county raised 100,000 bushels of wheat, and none was raised for a hundred miles east and west of them.⁴⁹

In the spring of 1894 the Rock Island company began experiments on a larger scale. Three cars were fitted up and managed by C. B. Jewell, Harry Hutchinson and W. W. LaRue. In April Mr. Jewell went to South Dakota to give instructions to parties who had purchased his method. While he was there it is said to have rained every day, and the following messages were reported to have gone over the wires:

C. B. Jewell, Aberdeen. How much will it cost to stop this rain? Have a flock of calves in danger of drowning. V. N. W.

V. N. W., Britton. Machine wound up for ninety days. Same price for stopping as for starting. Teach the calves to swim. C. B. J.⁵⁰

The second week in May the Rock Island rain makers began work. They planned to make the first trials simultaneously at Selden, Phillipsburg and Norcatur. These were to be free, but after that they intended to make contracts and charge for their experiments. By May 10 Mr. Jewell was said to have made contracts with Mankato, Colby, Smith Center, Norton and Phillipsburg. It was also reported that he had contracted to produce rain on Senator Farwell's

48. *Goodland News*, September 21, 1893.

49. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1893.

50. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1894.

400,000 acre ranch "I. X. L." in Texas, for \$50,000 if successful.⁵¹ On May 10 the three cars departed. But opposition to their operation began to be registered. The people in the eastern part of the state protested against their coming there as they had too much rain already. And the farmers of Sherman county held several meetings and resolved: "That the experiments of the rain makers had been detrimental to the crop prospects and instead of any rain being produced the gases sent up had produced heavy winds and cold weather, and that a committee be formed and wait upon these gentlemen and notify them to quit the business."⁵² The people were also complaining because they thought that the dry weather of the spring was a visitation of Divine displeasure and that God had withheld the moisture from that section because of the "impudence of man in trying to take control of the elements out of His hands."⁵³ One editor thought that this placed the boys between two fires and that they would have to go to Texas "to try for water and clouds."⁵⁴ It was also thought that it would discourage any other attempts to make tests or raise money for the same.

Mr. Jewell began operating at Wichita, June 9, where he threatened to turn Douglas avenue into a canal by the next day. His threat was fulfilled in a measure, for a heavy rain falling that afternoon and night put all the rivers and creeks out of their banks. At the same time Jewell operators were making tests at Peabody and Wellington with like success. At Peabody rain began at one o'clock Saturday afternoon and was reported to have been the heaviest in three years. It was, however, a general rain extending all over the West. Some gave the rain makers credit for it, but the skeptic insisted that it was "the work of the Lord."⁵⁵ "Doubts or no doubts," wrote the Wichita *Eagle* of June 10, "the rain poured down in fair quantities, and the owner of a patch of potatoes or a field of corn will not bother his head as to who sent it."

In July the interest in rain making suddenly died out, giving way to a rising enthusiasm over irrigation. Only slight mention is made of the activities of the rain makers after this. C. B. Jewell was in Chicago in July, returning to his rain car the 19th, and by the first of August was making experiments in the East. The first of September he left with his family for Old Mexico where he intended to continue his rain-making investigations. Mention is also made of W. W. LaRue returning from a rain-making trip in the East.

51. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1894.

52. *Ibid.* 53. *Ibid.* 54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1894.

A great diversity of opinion prevailed as to the ability of the rain makers to produce rain. The question whether they were scientific experts or downright frauds was widely discussed. Many men of good judgment believed in them, among whom were the officials of the Rock Island railroad, who had faith enough in their theory to spend a large sum of money in testing it. The government of the United States had manifested a like belief.

The workers claiming to conduct their experiments upon a scientific basis, explained that volatile gases charged with electricity and projected high into the air, chill the atmosphere, causing a condensation of moisture. Jewell used four generators in his work, making 1,500 gallons of gas per hour.⁵⁶

The farmers may have believed in rain making and may not; but being in desperate circumstances they reasoned that if rain was not produced they would be out nothing, for the contracts always provided "no rain, no pay," and if it did come the benefit to the crops would far surpass the amount paid to the rain maker.

On the other hand a great many, the majority, no doubt, thought rain making a fraud. The press in general ridiculed the idea. It may be mentioned that the Goodland papers stood by its rain makers throughout. The skeptics pointed out that the companies were never called until there had been a protracted dry spell, and then contracted to bring rain within a certain time, when it was most likely that rain would fall naturally. If the rain fell they claimed the credit and got their money, and if not they were out very little. One writer stated: "They simply bet their gall against several hundred dollars that a dry spell, which has already lasted a long time, will not last ten days longer."⁵⁷ They were also accused of studying the weather predictions, and when the signs were not propitious, of being out of chemicals.

The rain-making business was evidently a lucrative one. A company generally had several operators in the field at the same time in different parts of the state. If only one happened to be successful, money was made, and if a general rain occurred a great harvest was reaped. The rain makers usually received their pay, for of course they could easily prove whether rain fell or not, and while many did not believe they caused the rain they could not confirm it. Doctor Swisher carried a case into court at Lincoln, Neb., and got judgment for \$500, the balance due him. This perhaps was the only case the

56. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1893.

57. *Iola Register*, July 15, 1892.

Kansas rain makers brought into court. But the greatest profit came from selling the rain-making secret and the right to operate in a given territory. This so-called graft was worked by Melbourne and some of the Goodland companies. After a successful experiment, usually in a distant place, the rain makers would interest a group in forming a company, sell them their method for several thousand dollars, and then quietly depart from the place.

At the close of the year 1894, the rain-making delusion seemed to pass away. The conclusions of Mr. Jewell and the Rock Island officials are not known, but there appears to be reasonable doubt whether their experiments added much to the sum total of scientific knowledge.

Bypaths of Kansas History

"STOCK REPORTS" FROM NEW YORK CITY AND COTTONWOOD FALLS

Editorial in the New York *Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1851.

WILL NOTHING BE DONE?—From our office window, which looks upon the park, we yesterday saw a woman with a child in her arms thrown down by a cow running loose near the City Hall. After throwing her down the infuriated animal turned and tossed her over with her horns, so that for a moment it seemed inevitable that she should be killed. Fortunately several persons seeing the danger, hastened to the spot and rescued her. We believe that neither she nor the child were gored or received serious harm otherwise.

This is not a new nor a rare occurrence. Such things have happened again and again for these two years past, not to go back further. The press has raised its voice to implore the proper action on the part of the city government. In our columns within a twelvemonth, we have published some dozen earnest paragraphs to rouse attention and procure a remedy. Our cotemporaries have been equally faithful to their duty.

Does the reader ask what has been done? We will tell him. Within a few months two persons have been *killed* by cattle driven loose in the streets; the death of one we recorded on Monday last; several others have been more or less severely injured.

Apparently our city government are indifferent to this destruction of human life, this goring of women and children, and breaking of their limbs. It is for the interest of some parties—we ask not who—that cattle should have the range of the streets and public places. That now and then a person should be killed or maimed is comparatively of no consequence.

We know not what others may think of this conduct on the part of the common council, the mayor, the police, or whoever, or whatever is at fault in this business. For our part, looking at its fatal consequences, we call it CRIME, and shall so brand it till it is reformed.

Editorial in the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, January 17, 1878.

The damage to the contents of farmers' wagons by loose stock, the past week, is a burning shame and disgrace. It is enough to drive every bit of trade from the town. A man cannot leave his wagon to go into a store to trade without having the entire contents pulled out and trampled under foot by town horses and cattle. We saw a woman drive into town yesterday, with a quantity of hay in her wagon to feed her team during her stay, and before she got half way down Broadway there were fifteen head of horses and cows following and trying to eat the hay. Business men comprise a majority of the city council and a decent consideration of the welfare of their patrons should be sufficient inducement for them to stop the nuisance.

PLAINS INDIANS AND THEIR SLAVES

Correspondence in the New York *Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1853.

CHIHUAHUA, Saturday, Dec. 4, 1852.

I promised in my letter of Nov. 27, which I hope will have reached you, to continue my remarks on the country between Missouri and Mexico, and, having given in my first some general outlines of geological and geographical facts observed during my journey, to proceed in this second one to the moral state of the inhabitants of these vast regions. Do not fear that I shall tire your readers with repeating what has been said a hundred times of the Indians of the plains, or of the Mexican frontier; but there are some facts which, to my knowledge at least, are not generally known to the public of the states and of the civilized world in general.

What I am alluding to is the immense extent which the slavery of persons of the white race, if that designation will be allowed for the Spanish-Mexican population, has reached among the Indians of the plains and of the mountains on the frontiers of Mexico, and the character which this slavery has acquired at the present time.

Of all the numerous Comanches and Kiowas, whom we met on the Arkansas in the neighborhood of Fort Atkinson [near present Dodge City] and the crossing of the river, there was indeed scarcely one who had not one or several male or female Mexican children with him, whom they themselves boasted of having kidnapped in Mexico, telling us the places where they were from. To conclude from what we saw, there must be, not hundreds, but thousands of Mexicans, most of them of a tender age, in slavery among the Indians of the plains. Others were full-grown men and women, the former entirely barbarians like their Indian masters among whom they had lived from their youth, the latter in some cases a good deal more cultivated on account of their having been kidnapped at a more advanced age, which is never the case with a male captive, full-grown men being always killed when they fell into the hands of these savages. Some of the Mexican men whom we met in this state of captivity looked worn-out and poor, and complained of being ill-treated and not getting food enough, while others declared that they would by no means, even if they could, return to their native country, and confessed that they were themselves used to participate in those horse-stealing and kidnapping expeditions which the Comanches and Kiowas proudly call "*campañas*," speaking with an expression of cupidity of the "*cavallas, mulas, mugeres y muchachas*," the horses, mules, women and girls, of Mexico. The boys appeared to be generally well-treated. Some of them had even been adopted as children by the Indians. An old Kiowa chief who visited our camp, had three boys with him whom he declared to be *his children*, telling us at the same time that of two of them he was the real father, while he had brought the third one from Mexico in one of his military expeditions. This third boy was evidently kept as well as the two real sons of the old man, and when we asked the chief, as well as the boy, whether they would like to separate in case we should pay him a good price for the boy for the purpose of taking him along with us to his native place, both laughed with a sort of contempt, showing fully that both were as well satisfied with each other as with their situation in general.

The fate of the girls kidnapped in a tender age is even less painful. They are generally brought up by those who capture them to make the wives of their sons. The chiefs visiting our camp with their families, all had Mexican wives. The fate of a full grown woman falling into the hands of the Indians is often not so easy as this. She seldom escapes violence and brutality.

Among the boys whom I saw among the Comanches, there were two who, by their complexion, and the color of their hair and eyes, evidently were either of American or German parents, most likely of the latter, from the German settlements in Texas. I was told that they were quite as likely the children of Americans living among these Indian tribes, and acting even as the leaders in their most savage undertakings; but it did not appear so to me, and the fact of Americans living with the Indians and joining in their hostilities against the settlements of civilized life, appears to have more reference to those bands of highway robbers composed of Indians, Mexicans and half breeds, who infest the roads and farming districts of northern and eastern Mexico.

I must not omit to mention a fact which throws some more light on Indian life as it now is. The Indians whom we met along the Arkansas river offered us girls and women for sale or for prostitution. An old Comanche with his young wife, who met me when we were traveling along the road between Fort Atkinson and the crossing, offering me a woman for sale, gave me the most minute description of her. She was the sister of the wife. They laughed at my refusal, and would have sold her for a cup of coffee.

In general I found that the character of the Indians of the plains whom I had occasion to observe—and there were thousands around us on the Arkansas river—is far too well spoken of by some and far too ill by others. But it cannot be denied that they have more of the mean nature of the wolf or vulture than of the nobler character of the lion or eagle. Their character, however, is certainly not improved by contact with the white man, and by the mixture of races which is going on in an increasing ratio by the great number of Mexican captives among them, and by the intercourse of their women with travelers of the white race. In a very short time there will be very few Indians of pure blood, and the tribes of warriors of the red race will be transformed into bands of robbers and assassins composed of different peoples, mostly recruiting themselves by kidnapping, and whom to exterminate will be an ultimate sad necessity.

I am in lack of time to-day to conclude this subject, and have much more to say about it, which you will allow me to do in a third letter.

JULIUS FROEBEL.

WESTWARD Ho!

From the *Flag of the Union*, New York (?), December 21, 1854.

Neither Niagara, nor the Mississippi, nor the lakes, are after all the great spectacle to be witnessed in this country. Nor is the sight the most characteristic and American, that of the Yankee whittling on a rail, nor the Virginian talking politics over his saddles-bags; nor the Arkansas citizen playing at bowie-knives, nor the Kentuckian offering to bet upon his rifle; nor the New Yorker living in carved brown stone in the Fifth Avenue; nor the Negro sweltering in the rice-fields of South Carolina. It is a sight simpler still. *It*

is the passing by of the emigrant, bound for the prairies. A family of Germans going through our city is the most remarkable show to be seen in the West. It is, indeed, nothing new or uncommon; it is no pageant. No trumpets are blown to announce the coming of this small detachment of the army general. Probably not a soul in the city notices the passage of this poor family. Yet in it was wrapped up the great American fact of the present day—the coming in of European immigrants to take possession of our Western plains. If these states did not have lands for sale at low prices to attract the desires of the poor and the oppressed in all the earth, they would be of little importance among the nations. For centuries, the Swiss have had liberty but no land; and have been a nullity. But we hold a homestead for every poor man in Europe; and therefore gathering his pennies together, he is setting out for America as the world's land of promise, and the only Eden now extant. See that family as they pass.

The father strides down the middle of the street. Unaccustomed to the convenience of sidewalks in his own country, he shares the way with the beast of burden, no less heavily laden than he. His back bends beneath its pack. In it is, probably, the better part of his goods and chattles, at least the materials for a night's bivouac by the road-side. By one hand he holds his pack, and in the other he carries a large tea-kettle. His gude-wife follows in his tracks, at barely speaking distance behind. A babe at the breast is her only burden. Both looking straight forward, intent only upon putting one foot before the other. In a direct line, but still farther behind, trudges on, with unequal footsteps, and eyes staring on either side, their first-born son, or one who seems such. There are well towards a dozen summers glowing in his face. A big tin pail, containing, probably, the day's provisions, and slung to his young shoulders, does not seem to weigh too heavily upon his spirit. He travels on bravely, and is evidently trained to bear his load. A younger brother brings up, at a few paces distance, the rear, carrying, astride his neck, one more of the parental hopes. It is the most precious pack in the party, and, judging from the size of the little one's legs, not so very much the lightest. It is a sister, I fancy, that the little fellow is bearing off so gallantly; and very comfortably does she appear to be making the journey.

Watch this single file of marchers westward, until they disappear at the end of the avenue. They would not stop or turn aside, save for needful food or shelter, until they crossed the Mississippi. On the rolling prairies beyond, the foot-worn travelers would reach their journey's end, and, throwing their weary limbs upon the flowery grass, would rest in their new home, roofed by the sky. . . .

SLINGING THE BULLS

From the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 21, 1855.

We find the substance of the following in an exchange:

"A lady in Kansas attached sixty yoke of bulls to a wagon stuck in the ascent of a hill. The long train of cattle stretched over the hill, through the valley, and thirty of the team were standing on the descent of the hill beyond. These thirty coming to a good pull, lifted all those in the valley from off their feet, and suspended them in mid air at a height of thirty feet, more or less.

The wagon won't start, the bulls refuse to 'cave in,' and at last accounts they continued in *status quo* as described!!"

We are happy to inform our cotemporary, that the lady he refers to has subsequently added sixty additional yoke of oxen to her team, and two span of mules, since which she has succeeded in getting her wagon released. . . . Great ladies, up here in Kansas.

BLACK BEAR IN KANSAS

From the Manhattan *Standard*, November 21, 1868.

BEAR KILLED.—Mr. Orlando Legore informs us that on the 14th inst., in the vicinity of Timber City, Pottawatomie county, he killed a black bear, weighing 200 pounds. It is a rare thing to find a bear in Kansas.

"WILD BILL" HICKOK IN ACTION

From the Abilene *Chronicle*, October 12, 1871.

On last Thursday evening a number of men got on a "spree," and compelled several citizens and others to "stand treat," catching them on the street and carrying them upon their shoulders into the saloons. The crowd served the marshal, commonly called "Wild Bill," in this manner. He treated, but told them that they must keep within the bounds of order or he would stop them. They kept on, until finally one of the crowd, named Phil. Coe, fired a revolver. The marshal heard the report and knew at once that the leading spirits in the crowd, numbering probably fifty men, intended to get up a "fight." He immediately started to quell the affair and when he reached the Alamo saloon, in front of which the crowd had gathered, he was confronted by Coe, who said that he had fired the shot at a dog. Coe had his revolver in his hand, as had also other parties in the crowd. As quick as thought the marshal drew two revolvers and both men fired almost simultaneously. Several shots were fired, during which Mike Williams, a policeman, came around the corner for the purpose of assisting the marshal, and rushing between him and Coe received two of the shots intended for Coe. The whole affair was the work of an instant.

The marshal, surrounded by the crowd, and standing in the light, did not recognize Williams, whose death he deeply regrets. Coe was shot through the stomach, the ball coming out through his back; he lived in great agony until Sunday evening; he was a gambler, but a man of natural good impulses in his better moments. It is said that he had a spite at "Wild Bill" and had threatened to kill him—which Bill believed he would do if he gave him the opportunity. One of Coe's shots went through Bill's coat and another passed between his legs striking the floor behind him. The fact is "Wild Bill's" escape was truly marvelous. The two men were not over eight feet apart, and both of them large, stout men. One or two others in the crowd were hit, but none seriously.

We had hoped that the season would pass without any row. The marshal has, with his assistants, maintained quietness and good order—and this in face

of the fact that at one time during the season there was a larger number of cut-throats and desperadoes in Abilene than in any other town of its size on the continent. Most of them were from Kansas City, St. Louis, New Orleans, Chicago, and from the mountains.

We hope no further disturbances will take place. There is no use in trying to override "Wild Bill," the marshal. His arrangements for policing the city are complete, and attempts to kill police officers or in any way create disturbance, must result in loss of life on the part of violators of the law. We hope that all, strangers as well as citizens, will aid by word and deed in maintaining peace and quietness.

SCALPED

From the Hays *Sentinel*, July 19, 1876.

A poor, forlorn-looking wretch, minus his scalp and part of one ear, passed through Hays last Friday. His name is Warren, and he resides in Leavenworth county. He lost his scalp in the fight with the Indians at the half-way station between Cheyenne and the Hills, and his description of the fight was very interesting. As he tells it, he, in company with four other men, was herding forty head of mules belonging to a wagon train, when a band of Indians came down on them. They made a stand, and kept the Indians off until one of his comrades was killed and himself badly wounded in the head, when the other three made for the train, leaving him to his fate. He was unconscious for a time, and, when he returned to his senses he found his scalp and all of his clothes gone. However, he succeeded in crawling out to the trail, where he was picked up by some returning wagons and taken to Cheyenne.

WILD HORSES

From the Dodge City *Times*, October 19, 1878.

We do not make hazardous assertions when we state that the resources of the plains are unlimited. Even its wild character affords a varied occupation, even down to the gathering of bones. Wild horses in innumerable numbers abound in this almost limitless space. The proper and successful mode of catching the wild steeds of the plains is a simple one. A party of men engage in the pursuit with wagons, following the wild equine until after several days' chase the animals become accustomed to their strange and harmless pursuers, and being thus subdued are driven into a corral, when the lasso brings the untamed stud an easy prey of the horse hunter. The hunter, either on foot or horseback, never loses sight of the wild horses, and after ten or twelve days' pursuit runs the animals into a break, and thus being headed off are easily taken.

George Masterson and Joseph Johnson drove a herd of 182 head of the untamed Arabs of the desert, through Dodge City, Monday last, and were driving them to Wichita. The horses were captured in the range northwest of Cimarron. They were a fine lot of animals and will be placed in the market. The "breaking" of the wild horse is another peculiar feature of the plains vocation.

Jim Anderson bought two studs from this herd. They are of coal black color, with long flowing manes and tails. Jim says they resemble the Canadian French pony, and are of similar species.

ORIGIN OF WARE'S PEN NAME, "IRONQUILL"

Eugene Fitch Ware, Kansas author, signed the name "Ironquill" to most of his work. (For a biographical sketch see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, August, 1937, p. 295, footnote.) The origin of this pen name was explained by Ware himself in a letter addressed to Fannie E. Cole on September 11, 1908, a copy of which is in the manuscript collections of the Kansas State Historical Society. Ware wrote:

While out in the Rocky Mountains your postal card of July 25th came to hand, in which you asked me why I chose the nom de plume of "Ironquill." It is a sort of funny circumstance and goes like this:—

When I first lived in Ft. Scott, a controversy was gotten up in the *Daily Monitor*, then the leading paper of southeastern Kansas, owned and edited by "Gov." George A. Crawford, and in this controversy, which assumed considerable range, the contributors signed fictitious names and one person, to an article of about a column and a half, signed the name of "Goosequill," to which a reply was made of a couple of columns by some one who signed the name of "Steel Pen." I came into the controversy and signed the name of "Ironquill," and my article seemed to catch pretty well and after that, for I was a frequent contributor in prose, I signed the name of "Ironquill," because my identity had been pretty well established. Afterwards, when I got to contributing verse, I kept on with the nom de plume which I had adopted in prose. The question, as I remember it, over which this controversy arose was in regard to a female doctor, or perhaps I might say "Doctress." The Bourbon County Medical Society had a meeting and refused to let the lady doctor, Mrs. Hall, participate in the proceedings. Mrs. Hall was an exceedingly competent lady practitioner and had the sympathy of everybody. This medical society cast out a whole lot of quack doctors who had settled in the neighborhood and had taken steps for their prosecution.

About ten years afterwards, a St. Louis man tried to steal the name and got to writing verse and poetry and signing the name "Ironquill" and publishing his stuff in the St. Louis *Republic*[an?]. I succeeded in obtaining his real name and wrote to him that he must discontinue using the word. He stoutly claimed that he had invented the name and had used it before I did. I compelled him to show up and I produced the old files of the *Monitor*, showing that I had used the name before he could make any showing and I told him that he must quit it or I would bring suit and expose the whole business. Thereupon, after grumbling a while, he changed his nom de plume and I have never heard of him since. Afterwards, a man at Newhall, N. Y., tried to steal it but I soon made him let go. Since when I have enjoyed it uninterrupted.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Salina's school history was discussed by Mrs. Hugh Carlin, a former teacher, in the Salina *Journal*, November 2, 1937. M. L. Mitchell, now a Salina city commissioner, recalled his pioneer experiences in Salina when he taught school near a gambling den, and another time when he and Marshal Jerry Williams found twenty razors in the pockets of his school boys, in an article in the *Journal*, November 12. A sketch of the city's first school building, 1868-1874, was printed in the *Journal*, November 17.

Early-day Russell Springs was briefly discussed by Fred Cannon, former resident, in a letter published in the *Logan County News*, Winona, November 18, 1937.

Introduction of the telephone to Colby in the early 1900's was recalled in an article in *The Northwest Kansas News*, of Colby, November 21, 1937.

The Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* issued a "Decade of Progress" edition November 25, 1937, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Evening *Eagle*.

Listed by titles and dates articles of historical import included in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* are: "He Fought With Forsyth," relating that Maj. N. D. McGinley, 88 years old, who recently died in Oklahoma City, was perhaps the last of the intrepid band of scouts which fought the celebrated battle of the Arickaree, September, 1868, against the allied tribes of Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Sioux Indians, November 25, 1937; "An Old Map Throws New Light on the Westport of 1855," mentioning the influence of the Kansas territorial legislature on Westport, December 26; "Emerson as a Man of Action in the Cause of John Brown," December 27; "How Politicians Have Observed Alf Landon's 'Grand Principle,'" January 9, 1938; "Kansas Pioneering in the Work of Organized Farm Leadership," January 15, and "Development of Helium Industry Revives Dream of a Kansas Town [Dexter]," January 23.

Pioneer reminiscences are being recorded by Mildred Cass Beason in feature articles in all of Gove county's newspapers. The series started in *The Gove County Advocate*, of Quinter, November 25, 1937, and in other newspapers in December.

An article describing Lawrence in 1879, as published in a contemporaneous St. Louis magazine, was reviewed in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, November 27, 1937.

The biography of David L. Payne, the "Oklahoma Boomer," was sketched by Cecil Howes in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, November 27, 1937. Payne entered Kansas in 1858 and homesteaded in Doniphan county. He served as captain in the Civil War and in later Indian campaigns, and was a member of the Kansas legislature for several years. In the early 1870's he settled near Newton. The Daughters of the American Revolution of Newton are raising funds for a Payne memorial to be located there. He is buried in Wellington.

Kenneth F. Sauer, writing in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, November 28, 1937, described the christening of the new 10,000-ton cruiser *Wichita*, as it was launched on November 16 at the Philadelphia navy yard. The ship, named for the second city of Kansas, was the eighteenth and last heavy cruiser to be built under the limitations imposed by the London treaty. Margaret Ayres, daughter of William A. Ayres, former Kansas congressman, christened the ship.

Using Emporia and Lyons county as typifying American urban and rural life, William Allen White contributed a close-up of the Emporia community in an article entitled "How Far Have We Come?" in the December, 1937, issue of *Survey Graphic*, of Brooklyn, N. Y. Mr. White drew up a balance sheet which indicates an "amazing change" in the past quarter century and is a stepping stone to a review of American social and political progress. The first of three articles on British health insurance by Dr. and Mrs. Douglass W. Orr, of the Menninger clinic, Topeka, was begun in this same issue of the *Graphic*.

A history of Pleasant Hill school, Dickinson county, was sketched in the *Enterprise Journal*, December 2, 1937. The school opened late in 1877. Mabel White was the first teacher.

The restoration of Dyche museum of the University of Kansas was the impetus for the brief biography of Lewis Lindsey Dyche, famous scientist, which appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, December 4, 1937. During his lifetime Professor Dyche either conducted or participated in twenty-three scientific expeditions in the interest of the Mount Oread museum. He was explorer, hunter, naturalist and teacher. His explorations took him to the Arctic regions, and in 1895 he and Emil Diebitsch, brother-in-law of Com. Robert E. Peary, went to Peary's rescue.

"Rise of 'Petticoat' Government Started 50 Years Ago in Kansas" was the title of an article by Cecil Howes in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, December 8, 1937. Mrs. Susanna Madora Salter was elected mayor of Argonia, Sumner county, in 1887. She was the first woman mayor of a city in the United States, the article states. The first city to be entirely governed by women was Oskaloosa. The Wyandotte constitutional convention of 1859 established for women the same homestead privileges that men enjoy. In 1871 A. L. Williams, attorney general of Kansas, ruled that women were eligible as notaries public, and in 1886 the attorney general's office ruled that women could hold office in the state.

A two-column biographical sketch of Simpson C. Parrott, Thomas county pioneer, who arrived in 1886, appeared in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, December 15, 1937.

The Hanover *Democrat* celebrated the sixty-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of Hanover and the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the *Democrat*, with a special twenty-two-page edition, December 17, 1937. Among the feature articles were: "First Editor Writes of Early Hanover," by J. M. Hood; "City Incorporated in the Year 1872"; "Education Is One of Early Developments"; "Hanover and the Union Pacific," by E. C. Schmidt; "Nine Editors have Guided *Democrat*"; "Extra Tells News Hollenberg's Death"; "Emigration Heavy in the Early '60's," listing some of the community's early settlers; "Gives Ground for City of Hollenberg"; "History of Washington County," transcribed and compiled from Hollenberg's original manuscript and notes, by W. J. Dieker. Biographies and reminiscences of old settlers were printed and other articles gave brief histories of the community's churches, lodges, stores, newspapers, fire and telephone companies, cemetery association, electric light, sewer system and waterworks.

A biographical sketch of Dr. Tenney Frank, authority on Latin literature and Roman history, was published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, December 18, 1937. Dr. Frank is a native of Clay Center.

The visit of Grand Duke Alexis, of Russia, and his entertainment at the Fifth Avenue hotel in Topeka, was discussed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 19, 1937.

Summaries of the 1937 news in Russell were featured in the Russell *Record* and *The Russell County News*, of December 30, 1937.

Frederic H. Guild, director of the research department of the Kansas Legislative Council, discussed the work of the Kansas council in an article, "The Development of the Legislative Council Idea," in the January, 1938, number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia.

The Dalton raid on Coffeyville in October, 1892, was briefly described in the January, 1938, issue of the *Pony Express Courier* of Placerville, Cal.

"Harking Back Forty-Eight Years," or the reminiscences of Will H. Cady, editor of the Augusta *Journal*, was the subject of a review published serially in the *Journal* during the early months of 1938.

The history of the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*, now in its fiftieth year, was sketched in the January 6, 1938, issue.

A paper "Pioneering in the Great Southwest," by Mrs. D. B. Hungate, was printed in *The Jacksonian*, of Cimarron, January 6, 1938. Mrs. Hungate arrived in present Gray county in 1884.

The history of the Farmers State Bank of Mercier, opened for business on January 6, 1913, was sketched in *The Tri-County News*, of Horton, January 6, 1938.

Brief biographical sketches of the seven members of the Kansas supreme court were included in an illustrated page article, "Hard Work Characterizes Life of a Supreme Court Justice," in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 16, 1938.

A brief history of the Horton postoffice, as prepared by Jesse R. Franklin for the ceremonies held at the formal dedication of a new postoffice building, January 14, 1938, was printed in the Horton *Headlight*, January 20.

Oakley High School history was reviewed by Clarence Mershon in a series of articles entitled "Story of the Old School Bell," in the Oakley *Graphic* from January 28 to April 8, 1938.

A biographical sketch of Mrs. Carrie A. Hall, of Leavenworth, donor of the Lincoln collection housed in the Kansas State Historical Society's "Lincoln room," was written by Mrs. Jennie Small Owen for the *Kansas Teacher*, of Topeka, February, 1938.

The biography of Dr. Andrew Taylor Still, pioneer Kansas doctor and founder of osteopathy, was reviewed by Dr. Lawrence O. Martin, of Dodge City, in a three-column article in the Topeka *State Journal*, February 4, 1938.

Kansas Historical Notes

In response to a call by Al Gard, of Anthony, acting as temporary chairman representing the Anthony Chamber of Commerce, several Harper county citizens met at Anthony, June 17, 1938, to discuss plans for organization of a Harper county historical society. Included among temporary officers elected were: Homer L. Thompson, president; Mrs. Beth Casper, secretary, and Mrs. H. M. Sydney, treasurer. Formal organization is to be effected later.

"The Lone Tree," in Meade county, famous cottonwood marking the scene of the massacre of six United States surveyors by Indians in 1874, was blown down in a windstorm in June, 1938. Most of the wood has been hauled to Meade, where it is temporarily stored in the R. F. Todd & Co. warehouse. For a story of the massacre see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, pp. 266-272.

A granite marker, erected near the site of Scandia's old Colony house, was dedicated July 29, 1938. The following inscription appears on the monument: "1868-1938. New Scandinavia founded by the Scandinavian Agricultural Society. City of Scandia incorporated 9-15-1879. We dedicate this monument to you, our pioneer Fathers and Mothers. The first Colony house was located 200 feet west of this marker."

John G. Ellenbecker's new 130-page illustrated booklet, *The Jayhawkers of Death Valley*, was published in July, 1938. The story ran serially in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, November 4, 1937, to May 12, 1938. The Illinois "Jayhawkers" were thirty-six young men, goldseekers, who in the spring of 1849 started overland with wagons for the gold mines near Sacramento, Cal. They were on the road a year and suffered severe hardships. Mr. Ellenbecker tells their story collectively and individually, and gives names and addresses of many of the party's descendants.

At the twentieth annual reunion of the Thirty-fifth Division Association held in St. Louis, Mo., August 4-6, 1938, Col. Charles H. Browne, of Horton, was elected president for the coming year. Other officers include Sen. Harry S. Truman, Kansas City, Mo., first vice-president, and Capt. Mahlon S. Weed, Kansas City, Kan., second vice-president. The 1939 annual reunion will be held in Kansas City, Kan.

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The Old Plum Grove Colony

In Jefferson County, 1854-1855

WILLIAM JOHN MEREDITH*

WHEN the Douglas bill, in May, 1854, set off from the Indian country the new territory of Kansas, it "changed the whole political climate of America." How that change of climate affected the lives of a certain typical group of good Americans in the settlement of Kansas is the thesis of this research. For ten years at every session of congress, Douglas had entered protest against the policy of dumping dispossessed tribes over the western boundary of Iowa and Missouri. Two new commonwealths on the Pacific coast had been admitted into the union, separated from the other states by a thousand miles of mountain, desert and hostile savages, a barrier to migration and communication more difficult and dangerous than an Atlantic ocean. Benton, with his eye ever on empire, was busy with the project of a transcontinental railroad that would link the new Pacific theater of empire with the rest of the union through his city of St. Louis. The natural path of that artery of commerce and communication was up the valleys of the Missouri and the Kansas to some low pass through the Rocky Mountains. It would open up to settlement, as naturally, the habitable lands through which it passed. And every man in the Mississippi valley knew that for two hundred miles at least beyond the arbitrary boundary of Missouri and Iowa lay a land as fair as the sun shone on, the land of the flowery prairies. Except that selfish politics had so decreed, no Western man could understand why that arbitrary barrier should dam the westward flowing stream of settlement. And every man Jack west of the Mississippi believed that he should live to see that dam crumble before the resistless tide of migration.

A dozen or so miles north of what is now Kansas City a small community of old friends and neighbors had been waiting, so to speak, for the crumbling of the barrier. They were Southern folk, small-farmer type, from Virginia, east Tennessee and Kentucky, who, to escape the ruinous competition of the plantation system, had journeyed by way of the Wabash valley "as far west as any

* NOTE.—William John Meredith, oldest surviving descendant of the Plum Grove pioneer families, lived to the age of twenty-six in the Plum Grove community. Mr. Meredith reports the sources of information for this article include standard works on Kansas history, family records, official documents, personal papers, old letters, diaries and correspondence with other descendants.—Ed.

man could then get an acre from the public domain." When they arrived, about the middle 1830's, the county line was also the western boundary of Missouri, a meridian from Arkansas through the mouth of the Kaw to Iowa—still a part of Wisconsin territory. Their community center was Faubion chapel, Barry P. O., eight miles west of Liberty and at the edge of the Sauk and Fox Indian reservation. By the time their first small stumpy fields were fairly under cultivation, the federal government had removed their Indian neighbors, by the "Platte Purchase," and added six new counties to complete the state boundary as at present. That, by the way, was a plain violation of the so-called Missouri compromise, nobody objecting, since there was no political advantage to be gained by opposing it.

The Clay county neighbors at Faubion chapel had for years been well content with their small holdings, their moderate prosperity, their neighborhood school, church privileges and other community activities. They were comfortably housed; with dooryard flowers, vegetable gardens, orchards, well-tilled fields and open range for their livestock, they had the essentials of a good life. But as time went on they began to feel crowded. The influx of newcomers attracted by the opening of the "Platte Purchase" was gradually hemming them in. Piece by piece they saw their free pasture lands absorbed into the larger holdings of well-to-do recent arrivals. The westward urge in their blood began to revive. But the salability of their homes had diminished ever since the settlement of the six new counties. Nevertheless a few had sold out for what they could get to join the drift to the Oregon country, "where a man could get a half-section donation claim, of the finest land in the world" to help hold the far Northwest against the Hudson's Bay Company and the British encroachments. Later, after the Mexican war, a good many of their younger men had been drawn into the current of the California gold rush. The older folk, with large and increasing families of growing children, and especially the mothers, were loath to leave their pleasant homes for the dreadful California trail, already marked by the wreck of wagon trains, the graves of victims who had fallen by disease, starvation and redskin attack. Therefore, to them the formation of a new territory just across the river seemed like the answer to a prayer. Only two or three days journey by ox-wagon, with their household gear and livestock, would bring them, without hardship, to a new Promised Land and room enough for generations to come. Those flowery prairies, well known to them all by report of

Doniphan's riders, Santa Fé traders and buffalo hunters, would never attract or support a planter caste with hordes of black bond-servants, whatever the ranting politicians of the Atchison-String-fellow stripe might say. That would be a "poor man's country, a wheat, corn and livestock country, where a man could plow a straight furrow half a mile long and never hit a stump or a stone." There was plenty of timber for building and firewood along never-failing streams of living water, full of fish and the country was alive with wild game of every sort. Out there every man would be as good as his neighbor, with no aristocrat to cock an eyebrow to vex an honest farmer's independent spirit.

It was not that the neighbors at Faubion chapel lacked a decent pride of ancestry. All of them were of Pre-Revolution stock and could claim bloodkin with the best colonial families. Some of them might have traced their "pedigree" back to English gentry with coat of arms by royal grant from Tudor sovereigns, if they had cared for such vanities. The Declaration of Independence was their political bible. Of course all men are created equal under the law. To mention distinguished family connection was bad taste in the West—as if anybody needed more than personal worth to make him respected!

No, they didn't expect any trouble out there with the Emigrant Aid Yankees and such. And they didn't intend to have anything more to do with the blatherskite Proslavery politicians than they'd ever had at home. All that bragging of "carrying the battle from the halls of congress to the plains of Kansas," and all this whoopte-do about "Southern Rights and driving out the nigger-lovin' Abolitionists," was nothing more than the fool talk they'd been reading in the papers and hearing on the stump at election time all their lives, raw-head and bloody bones, big noise soon over. So long as a man attended to his own business, he wasn't liable to get into a fuss. When a man took his wife and children to a new country he had enough to keep him out of mischief without picking a quarrel with anybody. Might as well talk about setting up Mormonism out there as making Kansas a slave state. Why, even now, lots of slave-holders were selling their plantations in Missouri and moving down to Texas. So many folks coming into northern Missouri from the free states that it wouldn't be ten years before they'd be able to carry any election, and then how long would it be till—well, "them that lived long enough would see what they'd see!"

Their crops were already in the ground when word finally came from Washington that the Douglas bill had passed both houses of

congress and had been signed by the President. All that summer the neighborhood was bustling with the new adventure of "moving over into Kansas." As soon as the corn was in the crib, a small party of fathers and their elder sons set out for the new Promised Land. The first day on the road saw them safely across the river at Weston. The next night they encamped at the head of the north fork of Slough creek, called Honey creek nowadays, about twenty-two miles west of Fort Leavenworth. They had followed the new Military road to the crossing of Stranger creek at Easton and so on to the prairie ridge, known to them afterward as the divide, west of Scatter creek. At Bill Smith point (of timber) they had turned off to the west to follow down the stream half a mile or so, going into camp a few rods from the present Plum Grove schoolhouse. "It was bitter cold that night, clear as a bell overhead, stars shining, but no moon. We built a big fire under a bank at the edge of the creek and while Dad and Uncle Jim got supper we boys gathered a big bed of dry leaves, spread our blankets and fixed the wagon sheet over us like a tent. Dad and I had the buffalo robe, too. Somebody was up at midnight to chunk up the fire and put on more logs, so we all made out to sleep pretty well till daylight." It had been a late fall and the "old folks" had predicted an open winter. It seemed much colder to the boys this side of the river than at home. All day they had bent their heads against the force of a cold, dry wind to which their homespun jackets and knitted mittens offered little resistance. Their lips were chapped, their cheeks felt as if they had been sandpapered. They had gone to sleep dog-tired, drained of their boyish excess of energy. They awoke unwillingly when their elders routed them out for breakfast. But when the sun came up over the divide and they had a good hot meal aboard they were eager for the next phase of their great adventure.

The stream was low, a succession of pools united by gravelly riffles where the shallow water spread and threaded among the rounded pebbles for a rod or so with a low gurgling sound. There was fish in the thin-iced pools, flat sunperch, scaleless blue and yellow "cats," wide-mouthed, with wicked looking horns on each side protecting the gills, and darting minnows in the shallows. The creek with many a bend and crumbling cut-bank, willow clump and over-hanging trees, flows almost directly west from Bill Smith point for a mile or so before turning southwesterly to its junction with the main fork, and so on to the Grasshopper river and the Kansas. Every quarter mile or less it is joined by a spring branch bordered

with timber "points" like the fingers of a glove. Between the branches narrow tongues of prairie extend from the open ridges, north, east and south. The country to the west is more broken and looked then like the edge of a considerable forest. It is not recorded that the location for their intended settlement had been chosen on a former reconnaissance, but it must have been so for the party had come directly to the camping spot and the next morning the men scattered without discussion, each one to mark his building site and drive his claim stakes, each within shouting distance of his next neighbor, "just across the branch," or "'twixt here and the crossing." Certain it is that by deliberate intention they had put the divide between them and older claims in what is now Leavenworth county. It is probable that they meant to get beyond the first wave of immigration of the summer before and away from the disturbances about the river towns. That they did not go on to the rich bottom lands along the Grasshopper may be explained by the intervening broken country or the malarial appearance of the flats and "sloughs" as seen from the ridges north of Osawkee, as the name of that place was then spelled. It is known that they intended to form a colony of friends and carry over the river with them as much of the spirit of the old neighborhood as they could, and the "head of Slough creek" answered to their requirements.

By mid-forenoon of their first day on the creek the sound of axes felling timber for cabins echoed up and down the miniature valley in which they had built their campfire. At noon when they gathered for their meal each man could report the number of logs he had cut, and before they slept they had "decided on whose cabin they'd begin at sunup next morning." Logs were snaked to place, butt ends swung clear of the ground under the hinder axle, or where the distance was short, the logchain was clevised to the doubletree directly. The boys managed the dragging, two of the older men notched the logs, the others laid them in place. White oak clapboards were rived from selected trees, native thin yellow limestone was hauled from an outcropping down the creek. In ten days from the time of their arrival six or eight rough log cabins stood with roofs on and stone chimneys built, all within a mile of the camp. Oak of several varieties, black walnut, elm, hickory, wild cherry, linden, cottonwood and other smaller species had been felled without regard "as to whose claim it stood on." The only tools employed were axe, frow, crosscut saw and wooden trowel. The timber was not

such grand trees as grew in the river bottoms, but it served the purpose, and only the smaller logs, ten to sixteen feet long were used.

There was no government survey as yet nor any title to be obtained except squatter rights to lands actually chosen and occupied. A claim jumper was an outlaw by common consent all over the territory, as he had been throughout the West. Lines and acreage could be adjusted after the surveyor had done his work.

Leaving three or four boys to finish the chinking and daubing, door hanging and floor-laying of split-log puncheons, the men of the party set out for home. It was a grand and glorious adventure to those sixteen-or-eighteen-year-old youngsters, playing "Dan'l Boone in wild Kaintuck." They closed the spaces between the logs with blocks of wood and clay; they laid and adzed puncheon floors and hung on wooden hinges stout battened doors. They heaped frozen earth well above the bottom log all around each hut to shut out the draught underfoot, they built pole bunks in the corners next the fireplace and filled them with dry oak leaves under blankets and thick "comforts" their mothers had quilted, sleeping two or three in a bed to keep warm at night; they hunted and trapped for fresh meat between times; ate prodigiously, "whooped and hollered from cabin to cabin like wild Injins, and kept a smoke in every chimney." They saw few faces but their own till the snow was off the ground in early March. Then when the wind and sun had firmed the ground for travel, here came the ox-wagons and the drove of livestock at sunset, up over the divide with the "rest of the folks."

The colony had arrived; William Meredith, born October 10, 1807, at Abingdon, Va.; his wife Nancy Faubion, born in 1817 on the French Broad river, east Tennessee, and their six children, four sons, two daughters, born in Clay county, Missouri, 1837 to 1849, occupied the cabin, nearest the divide, on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 14/9/19.

Next to them "just across the branch," on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 15, stood the cabin of James Henry Rickman, born 1828, and his wife Eliza Faubion, born 1832, and four children born in Missouri. Next to them lived John Faubion, born 1808, in east Tennessee (father of Eliza and second cousin of Nancy), and his second wife, Margaret, sister of Nancy; their young daughter, and a son and daughter by his first wife. Jacob Faubion and his brother Esekias, their wives and two or three children each, had claims in West $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 22. They were brothers of Nancy. James Henry Clay Hopewell, born 1826, in Logan county, Kentucky, his wife, Mary Jane Horner, born 1831, and one daughter, Missouri born, claimed SW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 15. These lived south of the creek.

On the north side were John Jeffries, Jr., his wife Elizabeth and one daughter; John Horner, born 1828, brother-in-law of J. H. C. Hopewell, and his wife Marietta; Spencer Faubion, brother of Nancy, born 1822, and his wife Deborah; Robert M. Carter, born in Virginia, 1827, his wife Ellena, and two children. Thomas V. Carter, brother to R. M., his wife Susan and several children lived adjoining, but just over the later school-district line. These were the original colony, but with them came Napoleon Bonaparte Hopewell, born 1821, in Logan county, Kentucky (brother to J. H. C.), his wife Catherine Jane Johnson, born 1822, and four or five children, Missouri born, to settle a few miles to the south on the main fork of Slough creek, in sec. 34—always counted with the Plum Grove folks, especially in church matters. Other Clay county friends and relatives settled in groups on Walnut, Cedar and Crooked creeks, within easy visiting distance, and single families of their kin or old acquaintances located here and there round about. They all brought with them across the river in their covered ox-wagons, beside household gear and farming tools, seed grain and a supply of provisions to serve till more could be fetched from their old homes “t’other side of the river,” after crop planting.

The little cabins were crowded at night, but the menfolk spent little daylight time indoors that first season. There were gardens to be cleared and planted in the brushland at the edge of the timber; sod to break, rails to split, fences to build and the livestock to watch on the open range. The tough sod of the immemorial grasslands defied the harrow to loosen soil enough to cover properly the seed of small grain. Corn was planted with pointed tools between the laps of the long black ribbons of overturned grass roots stretching the length of their first ten-acre fields. Vigorous work with heavy hoes kept the corn growing, but the yield the first year was light and inferior.

After seeding, sod-breaking went on all spring and early summer when a shower made it possible for three or four yoke of oxen to drag the heavy iron-shod wooden plow through the stubborn root-bound earth. The second year, when the inverted sod had been rotted by sun and wind and winter freezing, oats and wheat did fairly well and the corn yielded almost “as many bushels to the acre as the old timberland fields in Clay county used to do.” The livestock thrrove as never before on the good pasture of the prairie, after the first winter of scanty rations of wild hay and corn fodder.

The Southern folk from Missouri and Kentucky never suffered the

dreadful privations the Emigrant Aid folk underwent south of the Kaw. Reports of their starving and freezing in their wretched dug-outs and hay-thatched huts, living on doles of food and old clothing from the aid societies back East, excited a wondering pity among the Slough creek settlers. How could anybody be so shiftless in the real business of living as those poor Yankees around Lawrence and Topeka, who seemed to spend more time holding mass-meetings and listening to their stumpspeakers than in working their claims?

By the second winter all the Slough creek folks had housed themselves in neat hewn-log dwellings, relegating their first cabins to service as storerooms, weaving shelters, quarters for the boys and casual accommodations when visitors or travelers came, "folks from t'other side of the river," or prospectors for claims. Log stables and small barns; the beginnings of small orchards, usually on grubbed-out ground on a north-hill slope; stone-walled wells sunk to water veins in the underlying limestone; more house furniture, better farming tools, bought when they sold their fatted hogs and cattle in the fall and early winter; their slow oxen soon replaced with brisk-stepping horses and good mules, advertised to the surrounding country that "the Slough creek settlement was doing pretty well." There was little that the hard-working and temperate community lacked except the assurance of peace in the tumultuous state of conflict between the Free Staters and the "Lecompton gang" of Pro-slavery politicians. All around them there was fighting; night raids, personal feuds magnified into "border outrages," house-burnings, plundering, horse thieving, mobs and lynchings, each side damning the other for aggression and retaliation. The Slough creek settlers and "their kind of folks had no more use for the Lecompton gang" than they had for the revolutionary "Topeka state government cabal." Both parties seemed crazy and uncalled for in the face of the swift filling up of the territory by immigrants from the old states along the Ohio river and the northeast. Nine out of every ten newcomers were free labor men, seeking homes, first of all, "just everyday common folks, easy to get along with if they weren't stirred up by the good-for-nothing politicians." But with them came a plague of self-seeking adventurers, broken-down office holders, agitators, town loafers, border toughs, "young fellers a long way from home," quarrelsome idlers and fugitives from the law, newspaper correspondents dependent on the lurid tales they cooked up for their employment, local partisan papers supported by one party or the other for their appeal to hate and the love of excitement. A

lonesome squatter seeking for entertainment, "with a drink or two of rot-gut whisky in him would shoot off his mouth, get into an argument he knew nothing about, would find himself in a fight, maybe get mixed up in a killing, and God knows where it'd end." So ran the talk when the Slough creek settlers were "swapping work" or sitting in the shade after a good Sunday dinner. They believed that the "fuss would soon blow over and things would quiet down. Just wait until the actual settlers got a whack at that fool 'black code' the first territorial legislature had enacted." Might as well talk about establishing Mormonism in Kansas, they repeated, as to pretend slavery could ever be set up in the territory, by all the force and scheming and law-passing and newspaper agitation and so on that anybody'd a mind to put on it. And what'd that Yankee outfit down there around Lawrence and Topeka accomplished except to divide the free labor vote and keep up a guerrilla warfare that was ruining the country? Anybody with his eyes open could see that next time an election was held there'd be a landslide "that'd bury the 'Lecompton gang' so deep a coal miner couldn't find'm"—unless the Free Staters kept up their childish policy of "opposing and thwarting and fomenting trouble,"—"like a passel of spoiled brats not allowed to have their own way." "If everybody'd keep his shirt on and try to get along with his neighbors till the time came, and then vote the way he believed without respect to party politics, all this whoop and hooraw'd be over and forgotten in a year or so."

The first territorial legislature had set off counties, appointed the county courts (later called commissioners) and the necessary officers to set up local government. The Slough creek settlers found themselves just within the limits of what had been named Jefferson county whose seat of government was Osawkee on the Grasshopper river. Here in January, 1856, the county court met, consisting of N. B. Hopewell, O. B. Tebbs and Henry Owen. They divided the new county into three townships, all east of Range 18 being called Slough Creek; all west and south of Twp. 8 was named Osawkee; the remainder of the county was designated as Grasshopper Falls. A justice of the peace and a constable were appointed for each of the three new divisions; for Slough Creek township, William Meredith was named for justice and J. H. C. Hopewell, constable, their commissions dated, January 21, 1856. Their jurisdiction extended over the eastern half of the county, and from it later were formed Jefferson, Oskaloosa, Union, Rural, Sarcoxie, and most of Norton townships as population increased.

This establishment of local government made little difference at first to the Clay county folks settled at the head of the stream which had given name to the new township, of which they were the geographical, and now the civil, center. They probably were pleased with the community's recognition as a definite unit by later comers roundabout, though they themselves had been less than a year in the territory. "Squire Meredith," so titled after the old custom of his native Virginia, made no claim to be the leading citizen. He would always be known among them as "Uncle Billy," an affectionate and respectful relationship accorded to all older men by their "kind of folks," that is, Southern people with the same customs and everyday speech. With the exception of the Hopewells, who had enjoyed a degree of academic training in Kentucky, he had rather more schooling than his neighbors. Years after he was spoken of by a cultured woman who had known him as "a fine scholar," though he made no pretensions to more than a practical education acquired by his own reading and contact with other well-informed people during his experience in pioneering in Western states. An aged gentleman who had known him well and long, wrote recently that "his word was as good as his bond, and his citizenship was marked by public spirit all too modest for his services." He had no political ambition, never ran for an office, accepted what public responsibility his neighbors accorded him in local concerns. His associate, J. H. C. Hopewell, had a clerical turn of mind and was generally given whatever secretarial duty came up in church and school organization. It is remembered that having had some Latin, he was much interested in the educational ambitions of the young people of the neighborhood, contending for the old-fashioned English pronunciation he had learned as a boy as against the new-fangled continental values coming into use among teachers from back East. He liked to quiz a youngster beginning an acquaintance with the language of Caesar and Cicero, ridiculing the "sissified" "Waynee, weedee, wekee" instead of the bold "Veenai, vaidai, vaisai," of the conqueror of Rome's enemies. The older men and women had grown up in pioneer communities before the public school had been vitalized by the generation of Horace Mann, McGuffey and the Northern mechanics and farmers demanding free education as compensation for the underprivileged workers' situation. Old documents disclose that a few of the Slough creek settlers had to sign with a cross. One grandmother lamented her inability to read the Sunday School leaflet a grandchild brought home to her in later years.

One circumstance which gave the settlement its standing among right-minded newcomers roundabout was the church-going habit of its people. In the old neighborhood "t'other side of the river" most of them had been members of one or another of the sects then prominent in the West: Baptists, Cumberland Presbyterians, "Campbellite" Christians, Methodists. All of them attended whenever a traveling preacher visited Slough creek, with little regard to his particular creed. In the lamentable separation of 1844, over the attempt to disqualify Bishop Andrew on account of his wife's inheritance of a few black servants, the Methodists in Missouri had been assigned to the Southern branch and they saw no reason for transferring to the Northern wing when they came to Kansas. Therefore when in their second year on Slough creek a local church society was formed, it was composed of members who brought their church letters from the old M. E. Church South of Faubion chapel, and their friends who joined for lack of church privileges in nearby neighborhoods. Among the names recorded as taking part in the organization are found: Napoleon B. Hopewell and his wife Jane C.; Margaret Faubion, wife of John; William Meredith and his wife Nancy; J. H. C. Hopewell and wife Mary Jane; and twenty-eight others. Of these are remembered, original members or early additions, Taylors, Rickmans, Staggs, Bundses, Carters, Shoemakers, Horners, Penningtons, Jeffries, Howards, Hulls, all families well known in the township. Many others attended usually and contributed for the sake of the respect they felt for the institution of public worship as making for order and sobriety in a lawless time. So it came to pass that when word was sent round that a visiting preacher would hold services at "early candle-lighting" the following Saturday evening at one or another of the settlers' houses, to be followed by preaching and a basket dinner on Sunday, "to which all are invited," parties of young folks on horseback or whole families in their farm wagons would come over the prairie ridges "to attend meetings with the folks on Slough creek."

It was at one of these basket dinners after preaching that it was suggested the community ought to have a proper meeting house, which would serve also for a school. The motion was made and carried with eager acclaim. Materials and labor were volunteered; money was contributed for windows, stove, hardware; and when the wild plum thickets near it were laden with ripe fruit, a neat hewn-log and native lumber building was dedicated as the Plumgrove school-and-meeting house. It served the community for a score of

years, a landmark better known over the country than even the two villages lately begun in the township.

Four or five miles to the north a townsite had been laid out on the Military road. Alvin Best of Winchester, Va., as oldest man in the enterprise, named it after his native town. A general store and post office had been established, slowly attracting the usual cluster of cabins and town dwellers.

A little farther away, south and west, near Newell's steam saw-mill, much patronized by early settlers, Dr. James Noble and several associates (among whom were N. B. Hopewell and William Meredith), formed a town company, had a site surveyed and named it Oskaloosa, after the Iowa town from which the doctor had come. From the first it had been designed for the permanent county seat. Osawkee had suffered somewhat from the rivalry of the town at Grasshopper Falls in the northwestern part of the county and from lack of good roads over the broken country to the east and south-east. Agitation led to the passage of a bill in the legislature authorizing an election for the relocation of a county seat in which Oskaloosa received more votes than any of her half a dozen rivals, but lacked a majority over all. In the final contest she won decisively through the active canvassing of the eastern and southern part of the county by William Meredith, A. G. Patrick, William Boland, Henry Owen and their assistants, 1858. The county records were moved to Oskaloosa and its name given to what was left of Slough Creek township after it had been reduced to form Jefferson, of which Winchester became the center of population.

About this time began the first attempts to improve the country roads. One had been ordered to connect Osawkee with Alexandria, Leavenworth county, with the expectation of its being extended to Wyandotte and Kansas City. William Meredith was appointed one of the viewers; it was laid out and surveyed, but it never was of much value to the county. The expense of the work was paid in county warrants, the beginning of a scandalous system by which petty paper-shavers long profited, the scrip being traded from hand to hand for what it would bring. In the hard times years later, a needy taxpayer could sometimes save a little by buying and turning in discounted scrip at the county treasurer's office for its face value. It was often charged that the "county seat ring" manipulated the finances so that "the insiders made a nice little profit on the shaving of jury fees, teachers' salaries, contractors' bills and such like public

expenses." To be sure delinquent taxes was always a good excuse for stamping warrants, "Not paid for lack of funds."

At the land sales of 1856, the Plum Grove settlers paid for their lands and got their patents from the government in December, 1858. After that they ceased to think of themselves as settlers, except as "old settlers" in contrast with the newcomers. The great Panic of 1857 affected them little for they did not handle much money in the course of the year. The price of grain made much less difference to them than it did to the people farther west in the wheat belt. They fed their crops to their livestock and marketed them "on the hoof." An occasional sale of grain as an accommodation, or a wagonload of prime oats to the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, they did not regard as a part of their farm policy.

The years before 1860 were moderately prosperous to the Plum Grove farmers. They lived comfortably on the fruits of their own toil on their own acres. They had brought with them across the river their own traditional domestic crafts. Every household manufactured its own ordinary clothing "from the sheep's back." Their gardens, poultry, milch cows; bread grains, ground at the grist mills on the Grasshopper river; their own home-cured meat and home-made sorghum molasses; dried and preserved fruit (wild and domestic); their cellared vegetables for winter, left them little to buy from the store. Fashion did not rule them oppressively in the matter of garments for public appearances. They dressed respectably when away from home and cleanly always when their outdoor work was done. Their women prided themselves on their spinning, weaving, dyeing, knitting and needlework. They produced their own butter, lard, soap. Cookery and housekeeping were the standards of wifely skill and performance. The men made their own tool handles, brooms, chair bottoms, repairs of machinery and harness, cobbled their own boots, dressed skins, shod their own horses, built whatever was needed for shelter or enclosure, were wise in the care and breeding of livestock. Some among them could always be counted on for minor surgery short of compound fractures and serious internal wounds. Nancy Meredith was a skillful midwife and numbered her successfully delivered "babies" by the score in the country roundabout. Nearly every family among her neighbors, near and far, included a namesake of hers. She thought nothing of setting out on her grey saddle pony in the midst of a storm at midnight to the help of a woman in childbirth. Doctors were few and far away and not to be called except in dire emergency. It used to

be said that a sick man in the community couldn't make up his mind to get well without the care and encouragement of Nancy's eldest son Jim, who "could sew up a gash as well as any surgeon, bully a discouraged convalescent out of his hypo, or pull an aching jaw-tooth when nobody else could do anything with the sufferer." Typhoid fever in summer and pneumonia in winter were their most dreaded ailments. Asiatic cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, they had known as dreadful visitations in the West before they came to Kansas, and few of them but had so lost a relative in days gone by. Vaccination had rid them of the fear of the smallpox scourge, they were now far enough from the great rivers and steamboats to lose their dread of "Yellow Jack," and "the cholery" of the Mormon migration and the California trails was seldom heard of nowadays, except at an army post out on the plains, that vague region "beyond the farming country."

The Great Drought of 1860 hit the Kansas farmers hard. "From the 19th of June, 1859, until November, 1860, over 16 months, not a shower fell to soak the earth. Vegetation perished all save the prairie grass." It was not quite so bad as that at Plum Grove. Early plowing and seeding and thorough cultivation, with a few light showers in late May and early June, prevented utter failure. The gardens produced quick-growing vegetables, small grain grew tall enough to be mown, though the seed was too light to pay for threshing. The corn, always king of their crops, did better. Without packing rains the soil remained loose and resistant to evaporation. Frequent stirring produced a "dust mulch," as it was later called, which conserved what moisture was in the ground. It was in effect dry-farming as practiced afterward where the rainfall of two seasons is used to produce a single crop. Some fields produced half a crop, and where the ears did not fill, at least the stalks made "shock-fodder." Wild hay was short, but in the prairie swales the deep rooted "slough grass" yielded well. Every farmer's stackyard was filled with long ricks "as high as a man could pitch a forkful." Lean hogs were butchered as early as frosty weather insured the keeping of the meat. More pickled pork was barreled that late autumn than in any year before or after. Beef and mutton were well fattened on the open range as usual, though the "branches" all went dry in midsummer. Big Slough springs, a quicksandy outcrop overgrown with rushes and cattails, at the point on a low ridge just east of William Meredith's place "came in mighty handy that year" as a source of water for the livestock of the neighborhood. And the

deep wells proved the forethought of their excavators. Those that failed were deepened, usually to permanent advantage. Altogether the settlement got through the winter without serious hardship. Not one of the Plum Grove neighbors had to compromise his independence by accepting aught of the 8,000,000 pounds of food and clothing poured into the territory by the generosity of the Northern states for their former citizens. Their old friends "t'other side of the river" would have gladly helped out the Plum Grove folks, if it had been thought necessary, but "they shared with each other and got along without 'aid'." It is remembered that one Plum Grove man who served yellow corn bread at his table was rather sternly remonstrated with by his visitor after the meal was over. "You know, Hank, your folks don't have to eat hog-feed. All in the world you had to do was to fetch your sack over to my crib and help yourself to what *white* corn you need. Yankees like yellow meal, but—not 'our kind of folks.'"

Of the 30,000 starved out settlers who left the territory that year, many a gaunt family in their ragged covered wagon, was glad to accept food as they passed through Plum Grove on their way back East "to *her* folks." Perhaps some of them changed their opinion of "Missourians" because of that experience, as did others who knew the Plum Grove neighbors, and their "kind of folks," in those years of sectional hatred. All over the eastern counties vacant farms to rent became a feature in the life of the people, "after the Great Drought."

The speculators at the land sales had gobbled up every open forty and every "claim" that had been staked and held fraudulently for a quick profit. Many worthy land seekers had been tempted to sell out at the preposterous prices offered by the speculators' agents who had no scruples in defrauding their Eastern principals. When the Panic of 1857 and the Great Drought had "knocked the bottom out of land prices," those greedy investments at the land sales had much to do with the bitterness Eastern capitalists felt toward Kansas. Perhaps it had a good deal to do with the intensity of hatred which marked the beginning of the War Between the States which was preluded by the Kansas conflict. It certainly had a devastating influence upon the hopes of many early settlers. The colony of friends from Clay county had large hopes of room to settle their children around them on Slough creek. After the land sales those hopes vanished. The flood of immigration before the Great Drought had filled up the country much faster than anybody could have fore-

seen when the Douglas bill let down the bars to the flowery prairies. Only the treeless higher land along the divide now lay unoccupied. Around Plum Grove the broken timbered tracts west and southwest of Oskaloosa had attracted the young men soon to come of age and one or more of them had actually staked out claims and cut house-logs anticipating the promised early opening of the Delaware diminished reserve. That expectation also was disappointed by the change in land office policy in consequence of the disturbed situation in the territory. Word came from Washington that the reserve opening was postponed indefinitely.

That led to the first wedding at Plum Grove and the giving up of the plan to begin married life in a cabin on the reserve. James Henry Meredith, eldest son of William and Nancy, and Mary Faubion, younger daughter of John, were married in the year of the Great Drought, by the Rev. H. H. Hedgpeth, circuit preacher of the M. E. Church South. "Jim and Mary" they had been called from their cradles, they had been playmates, school mates through their childhood and sweethearts through their teens. "Jim and Mary" they were through the ten years of their married life and in the memory of their friends thereafter. A good place to rent, just outside the Plum Grove school district, two or three miles south of historic Hickory Point "battlefield," was offered them by a young friend who had lost his wife and baby. He was leaving the territory disheartened and couldn't sell his land, his two-roomed log and lumber cabin with a twenty-acre field of corn. There the present writer first saw the light of the Kansas prairies, on the first of August, 1862, the day before his mother's twenty-sixth birthday.

That was the beginning of a common practice of Plum Grove young folks' marrying and "setting up housekeeping on a rented place" in the hope of accumulating capital, in livestock usually, to own a farm of their own. It was not such an undertaking as it would have seemed at a later time; livestock multiplied rapidly, farming equipment and housegear "for a start in life" were always largely wedding gifts from parents and friends. Every young man had his own team of horses, hogs, cattle and sheep. Every bride had her kitchenware, bedding, some furniture, fowls, perhaps a milch cow and even a saddle pony. "If they had no bad luck for a year or so, they'd get along first rate." Hard work and the need of good management, with the interest and good wishes of all their friends, every young married couple had a right to expect, and who could wish for more as a beginning? It was up to them to justify

the community's hope. "So long as they kept their health and babies didn't come too fast they had a good chance of being as well off as their old folks by the time they got their first gray hairs."

But renting a place is very different from making a home out of one's own acres. One third of the crop for the landlord, the uncertainty of tenure, the natural lack of interest in improvement, which would only make the place more desirable to others, the thousand and one petty accidents and discouragements incident to every undertaking, bred a restless impatience with present conditions, a disposition to makeshift methods and instability in general. A crop failure, a siege of sickness, a loss of livestock through disease or otherwise, lack of harmony in the home, sometimes ended in permanent discouragement and mere futility. There were such cases in the Plum Grove community as in every other. Men and women grow old, wear out and die, in spite of all they and their friends can do. Sons and daughters fail of their parents' fondest hopes and may become a sorrow or a burden. Life is uncertain and fate is fickle, as men and women are forced to believe. Yet few communities could be found in the length and breadth of the land so generally fortunate and humanly happy as Plum Grove in the first two decades of the neighbors' experience in Kansas. They did not lie in the path of the main tragedies of the "conflict." Main traveled routes of immigration, of trade—and of the marauding bands—passed Plum Grove by on either side at some miles distance. That they escaped the fate of other communities was probably due to their reputation for probity and peaceful disposition, their self restraint and independent industry. They did not know of the fighting at Hickory Point till they heard the Free-Staters' cannon on Sunday forenoon when they were at public worship. All the turmoil and violence about Lawrence and Lecompton and down along the border counties came to them by report. They saw the newspapers, of course, but the lurid accounts of outrage were discounted as political propaganda, distorted for a purpose. They spent little time about the noisy towns, notorious for their saloon brawls, had a contempt for quarrelsome discussion to no purpose. But there was one circumstance which, they afterward believed, had much to do with their immunity from molestation.

Three or four of the older men had gone to mill at Grasshopper Falls on the day when the historic Free-Stater convention was in session, August 26, 1857. It is not known that they chose that day for their business with any thought of the convention, though they must

have known of the appointed meeting. As the occurrence was often referred to in after years, they could have had no idea of its probable significance when they set out with their grist from home. At any rate they afterward congratulated themselves that they represented the respectability of their community as a whole, as to character and opinion.

While they sat at ease enjoying their noonday snack under the maples on the river bank, awaiting the grinding of their corn and wheat, Dr. Charles Robinson and a friend, Joel K. Goodin, probably, strolled by, were given the time o'day and paused to exchange a courteous word. The conversation lengthened into a casual discussion of the convention and Robinson's strategy to secure favorable action on Governor Walker's urgent call for all voters to take part in the October election of the next legislature. Asked for their views on the matter, the Plum Grove men spoke briefly and to the point. Any other action seemed to them bad citizenship. The legislature was the instrument of the people to enact laws as the majority desired. The last legislature had made a botch of the job, but the Free Staters had started a revolution. It was time such foolishness should be laid aside and every law-respecting man should join with his neighbors to clean up the mess that was ruining the territory. There was no reasonable doubt that the majority of actual settlers and homemakers were in favor of free labor, so why not put an end to the fighting? As for themselves, the Plum Grove folks and all of their kind were sick and tired of the squabble between the "Le-compton gang" and Free-Stater cabal and would vote accordingly for decent law-abiding candidates pledged to put an end to the outrageous situation.

That was plain-speaking, Doctor Robinson and his friend conceded, and whether the Plum Grove men were right or wrong in their opinion of the "Topeka government," the two were glad to make the acquaintance of such outspoken friends of the general good. Robinson thanked them for their hospitable invitation to share their fried chicken and other good home-cooked food, as contrasted with what had been served them in the hotel dining room a few minutes before. He said he hoped to know them better when they had occasion to visit Lawrence their "natural trading point." If at any time he could be of any service to them, he'd take it as a favor if they'd call upon him, and he'd be glad to visit their community whenever his duty led him their way.

Perhaps their plain talk had something to do with the energetic

and successful fight he made that afternoon in the convention, when he told the objectors that "a man that is too *conscientious* and too *honorable* to change his tactics with a change of circumstances is too conscientious for politics." At any rate that was the beginning of a tolerant acquaintance between the Plum Grove men and the Free-Stater statesman whom they came to honor for his great services to all good Kansans. They believed that whatever control he was able to hold over his turbulent associates tended to save the Plum Grove community from the depredations suffered by other settlements thereafter. He had their sympathy when as their first governor of the new state he carried the burden of administration in spite of faction and "personal feud forced upon him by those whose insane ambition was balked by his laudable resistance."

The election of Lincoln and the secession of the deep South brought Kansas into the union under the Wyandotte constitution, framed by a representative convention in which none of the prominent leaders of the conflict figured much. The constitution and the admission pleased the Plum Grove folks as a triumph for the principles of the Douglas bill. Lincoln they admired as a man, though none of them would have voted for him "as the candidate of a sectional party animated by a sectional hatred of the rest of the union." Him they understood as one of their own kind of folks, related to them in origin and possibly bloodkin. One of the Plum Grove pioneers so much resembled Lincoln in form and feature that he was sometimes called "Old Abe." Secession they detested, disunion they abhorred. They believed that if Douglas could have been elected "a constitutional way might have been worked out to settle the negro question for good and all somehow." For anybody could see that outside of the deep South "the majority of thinking people disliked slavery as a menace to common folks." That was why there had been for years a steady migration of people like themselves across the Ohio. They knew that Missouri was probably three fifths free labor in sentiment already, a steady stream of free-labor people coming in and many slave holders selling out and removing to Texas. And it was so in Kentucky, western Virginia and eastern Tennessee. "Of course New England might pull out of the union as she had threatened more than once." They hoped that Crittenden's compromise plan, and later Lincoln's tentative proposals to placate the border slave states might prevent disruption of the union. And the Plum Grove folks were no more misguided as to the tremendous forces at work than a million other citizens, North and South, at the time. Did not Horace

Greeley and many another advocate "letting the erring sisters go in peace," when the deep South framed their Confederate States of America?

When Fort Sumter was fired upon and "blood sprinkled in the faces of the Virginians," Tennesseeans and North Carolinians, the hearts of the Plum Grove men and women were heavy. The union must be preserved, there was no two ways about that. If old Andy Jackson were in the White House he'd be halfway with his troops to Charleston again. Things would never have come to this pass if he'd been President instead of poor old fumbling Jimmy Buchanan. The Free-Stater guerrilla leaders were tumbling over each other to get into the new volunteer army called out by Lincoln, and word came from t'other side of the river that the Proslavery guerrillas were joining up with thousands of young adventure-seekers to fight for the confederacy. Not a Southern family in Kansas but had relatives on both sides from the first skirmish. The Plum Grove folks were glad when Governor Robinson organized the Kansas militia as a home guard to protect the state from invasion and every man among them of military age enrolled at once in the two local companies. They had no taste for military discipline, war had no glamor for them, but for generations their people had been used to home guard service against the Indians and the British; near relatives had ridden with Doniphan to the conquest of New Mexico and Chihuahua; their great uncles and cousins had been with Jackson at New Orleans and Pensacola. They certainly had no lust for shedding the blood of their confederate kin. But with a clear conscience they could serve the nation and the state in repelling invasion. That naturally wouldn't be understood by their newcomer neighbors from the states so far North that all Southerners were like foreigners to them.

The Civil War years brought material prosperity to Plum Grove. Good crops most seasons, higher price for their produce, a ready market for their livestock brought them more money than most of them had ever handled before. William Meredith sold \$1,200 worth of hogs on foot at one time in 1864. Army contractors and the quartermaster's department at Fort Leavenworth took their fatted hogs and cattle, their mules, and young horses fit for the cavalry and mounted officers. There was some jayhawking carried on by pseudo-patriots hanging about the county seat under the pretext of keeping down "rebel sympathizers" till the decent citizens, goaded by the Oskaloosa *Independent* in fiery editorials by fearless John W. Rob-

erts, drove the miscreants out of the country. Nobody at Plum Grove lost much from the night raiders, though a shopkeeper was pointed out, by those who knew, years after, who paid by installments for a horse he had stolen from a neighbor "during the war." When word came to "our folks at Plum Grove that the jayhawkers were on the rampage again, the horses would be padlocked inside a stout board fence about the dooryard at night and a loaded shotgun stood handy by the window." One night a minor tragedy was narrowly averted when a bald-faced colt, mistaken for a jayhawker, made its identity known while yet its owner's finger hesitated on the trigger. At another time a daughter of the house slipped out through the back door and hid her father's fine, silver-mounted Kentucky squirrel rifle in the weeds when a "posse appeared claiming authority to collect private arms for public use." Citizens had their cornercribs, henhouses and smokehouses looted at night without respect to the owner's well known allegiance. Mounted parties sometimes galloped through the settlement before daylight toward town, setting all the dogs to barking. An inoffensive man in town on an errand alone might expect to be bullied and abused as a damn' Copperhead, Missourian, Secesh spy, or worse, by drunken gangs of loafers in front of a saloon, threatened with a rope or a throat-cutting. That was before a lynching party of townsmen chased two or three of the worst toughs into the ravines west of Oskaloosa and shot them down one moonlit light, and in a measure redeemed the county seat's good name among the law-abiding citizens round-about.

Death had come to Plum Grove as to other communities of early settlers. Ellena Carter, first wife of Robert M.; Deborah Faubion, first wife of Spencer; the wife of another, name now unknown; Narcissa Justis, aged 24, a niece of Nancy Meredith, on a visit with her infant boys from old Clay county, several children and one or two of the Walnut creek friends had been buried before the Great Drought of 1860. John Faubion, first of the pioneer men to go, died in 1863. He was the present writer's maternal grandfather, a man of quiet piety, noted for his tireless industry and tremendous physical strength. It was said of him that he carried six bushels of wheat in a tow bedtick, laid upon him by three companions, up a flight of stairs at the mill. He had survived the bite of a rattlesnake, without the usual remedy of liquor, which he had foresworn, using only a "poultice of blue ash sprouts." The same year, Thomas V. Carter's wife Susan was laid to rest. All her family, save one son, died of

tuberculosis, "quick consumption," as it was called in those days. Spencer Faubion, surviving a second wife by three years, closed his adventurous career in 1867. He had been one of the young Clay county neighbors who had followed the California gold-rush, knew Dr. Charles Robinson in the Sacramento squatters riots, and came back safely with two or three thousand dollars from the Mother Lode. On his return overland, as he had gone, he and a few companions were overtaken by winter somewhere on the upper Platte, or perhaps on the Republican. They had been lost for some days and were nearly starved. At dusk they made camp under a low bluff on the bank of the frozen river. He was cutting up a dead cottonwood for fire wood when a herd of buffalo poured over the bank onto the ice. A great bull slipped and fell. Before the beast could get upon his feet, Spencer brained him with his axe. He used to tell how they feasted on hump-steak that night and roasted the big leg-bones for the marrow to satisfy their fat-starved bodies.

His resemblance to "Frémont the Pathfinder" was often remarked, "though he was a much larger man than Benton's son-in-law."

John Horner died in 1866, the youngest man but one of the original party of 1854-1855. Not much is remembered of him except that "he was a good neighbor always." He was of Scotch-Irish stock, perhaps of the same migration that settled the Piedmont region of the Southern colonies and supported Jefferson in his long struggle with the tidewater squires for a more liberal share in government.

Elizabeth Howard of Walnut creek, about whom no other record than her tombstone inscription seems to be at hand, was laid to rest among her Plum Grove friends in 1869. The sunny acre in the edge of a young black oak grove, a quarter mile west of the schoolhouse, donated by John Jeffries and set aside for burials at the time of the first death, was beginning to fill up. It was free for all who wished to lay their dead with those whom they had known "in old Clay county, t'other side of the river." And children hearing a favorite hymn over a new made grave used to think

"On the other side of Jordan,
In the sweet fields of Eden,
There is rest for the weary,"

somehow referred to the broad Missouri which divided their Kansas home from the land from which their people had come. And perhaps as the mists of homesickness gathered in the mind of the dying, the same dim thought may have consoled the weary one at the end.

There was much of the mystical in the worship of the pioneers,

their thought of the Hereafter was colored with a vision of rest, and return to a home beyond the river of Charles Wesley's poetry of inspiration, after the long years of toil in a new land. Vocal music was always a large part of the life of the Plum Grove people. The great hymns which unquestionably were the major element in their religious expression, the old ballads their ancestors had brought with them from Britain, all the popular songs of their American experience, lived in their daily emotional concerns. Their preachers were often as much noted for their leadership in song as for their pulpit eloquence, or for their doctrinal exposition. Their teachers in the neighborhood school were remembered as much for the extent of their new music introduced as for their instruction in the three R's. A certain Major Morton, forgotten for all else, used every winter to "conduct courses in note-reading and part-singing" about the country districts and his singing schools were a much prized element in the social life of the younger people. Many a happy marriage dates from those gatherings which brought the lads and lassies together.

In June, 1870, the idyll of "Jim and Mary" came to its close in her burial in the old Plum Grove graveyard. They had only that preceding spring realized the lifelong dream of a home of their very own. A pleasant little place half bottom land and half limestone bluffs and prairie, on Big Slough creek halfway between Oskaloosa and Osawkee and eight miles or so from Plum Grove, had been bought with their savings "of ten years living on rented places." They had stripped themselves of their livestock capital "down to a bare new start to make the part payment." There was a nearly new hewn-log house neatly chinked with lime mortar, in which the tiny shells of creek sand mollusks showed to the great interest of the children. Log-heaped fires and burning stumps had lighted the new field at night for weeks during corn and garden planting. The great rocks in the face of the bluff were half concealed by wild shrubs and young hickory saplings. There was a fine spring in the limestone ravine a few steps from the kitchen door. The creek was full of fish and a set line at night seldom failed to provide fish for breakfast. The trail up the spring branch to the schoolhouse at the edge of the prairie wound in and out among wild flowers and the pools were alive with minnows, periwinkle shells and crawfish. Every week or oftener some of the young folks from Plum Grove rode down the creek to spend "overnight with Jim and Mary at their new place." It would be a sheltered home in winter time, their

friends agreed, below the sweep of the Arctic wind which scoured the prairies. The livestock took to their new range as if they too had found a more congenial home.

Grandmother Nancy had come to stay a week, and then in the middle of a sultry and moonless night came the never-to-be-forgotten rousing from sleep, the hurrying barefoot stumbling over the rocks of the spring branch to call good neighbor Morg Donahue to ride for the doctor. The coming and going of anxious friends and relatives, the long and weary procession of neighbors and the great gathering from miles around and the rounding of raw yellow clay over a new grave, the enforced abandonment of the desolated home, remains a nightmare in the memory of those most affected. Perhaps it was no more poignant than the breaking up of many homes in Kansas in the early days, perhaps of little interest to the present reader except as it helps the present day student of history "to know just how things were then"—which is the primary purpose of all history.

The new decade opened to the people of Plum Grove with a promise of fulfillment greater than they had hitherto known. Most of them now had commodious frame houses of native timbers and Northern pine, painted white, though some still clung to their well-built hewn log structures, in some cases weatherboarded over. William Meredith had used oak studding, joist and rafter, with *black walnut* weatherboards, casings and shingles. A beautiful fireplace and chimney of squared limestone graced the well designed simplicity of a somewhat attic style. Good barns, granaries and stables of log and rough sawn lumber sheltering seed and bread grain, work horses and milch kine were common. Well grown shade trees and orchards gave the homes the look of established residence.

The local church society having outgrown the schoolhouse meeting place, in consequence of a successful revivalist's efforts, it was decided to build a community church. Pledged contributions were spontaneous and liberal, not only from the neighbors but from well-wishers at a distance. A skilled architect-carpenter was employed by the day and boarded round. William Meredith donated the acre in the corner of his homestead opposite the schoolhouse ground which James Rickman had given the district years before. Labor and hauling of the lumber from Leavenworth were the free contribution of those who could best spare the time from their farmwork. The church was completed during the summer and dedicated in the

autumn. The cost was more than \$2,000, "paid up and out of debt on the day of the dedication ceremonies."

That may be regarded as the high point in the community's history. Times were changing swiftly, more swiftly than anybody then could have appreciated. The war years were over and gone. Old partisan hatreds were dying out in Kansas except as self-seeking politicians exploited the old-soldier vote by flaunting the "bloody shirt." Visiting back and forth between the Plum Grove families and their Missouri relatives had been resumed soon after Lee's surrender. There was much bantering among reunited Rebs and Yanks, but there was no diminution of respect or affection one for the other. It is recalled that one evening at dusk a lanky stranger rode up to the woodpile at "Jim and Mary's house," inquiring of the axe wielder if "Jim Meredy lived hyarabouts?" "That's what I'm called by friends," was the answer. "Ah don't give a damn about him, but Ah'd like mighty well to see Cousin Mary."

He was invited "to 'light and look at his saddle," supper being about ready. Mary welcomed her distant relative whom she hadn't seen since she was a little girl. The two men sat late that night reviewing the years between and Mary shuddered to learn that they "had been poppin' bullets at each other across a corn-patch at the battle on the Big Blue the night Gin'l Joe Shelby fell back undeh ohdehs of the Commandin' Officeh, afteh captu'in' some of the Plum Grove militiamen—an' sehved'm right, foh fightin' ag'in theh kin-folks."

Sometimes Jim protested that the ex-Rebs allowed a union man mighty little room in the argument when the folks from t'other side of the river were visiting at Plum Grove, but there was never any bitterness in the discussion.

The first wedding in the new church was when Ann Rickman, daughter of James and Eliza, was married to a handsome young Virginian, Samuel S. Stout, lately lieutenant and acting captain under Stonewall Jackson. Nobody ever thought the less of him for having spent his latter teens following the great confederate strategist, and to the boys of the neighborhood he was a glamorous figure. Not so glamorous were some of the ex-soldiers on either side who drifted through the settlement in the great post-war immigration when the railroads were selling off their notorious land subsidies in the middle and western counties of Kansas.

There was a plague of bonding schemes to promote railroad building for a decade and more; fraudulent elections, corruption of offi-

cials, sturdy resistance to lawsuit, mandate and injunction, that had much to do with local politics for years. The state and county governments were honeycombed with graft, extravagant public improvements, wasteful financing, piling up of debt, burdensome taxation, whereby the real progress of the new commonwealth was long retarded. That became painfully evident when the dreadful grasshopper visitation fell upon Kansas in 1874, like unto the plagues that smote Egypt in Moses' day. "In the state of the treasury, it was decided, relief by the legislature was *impractical*; that the counties would have to assume the burden and an appeal must be made to *citizens* of Kansas and the *people* of the *Eastern states*."

The story of the coming of the locusts has been told a thousand times, in newspapers, sensational fiction, verse and verbal tradition, but no one who did not witness that greatest of all disasters that made the name of Kansas a byword in the older states, could have had any adequate conception of the catastrophe.

There had been rumors and newspaper stories for weeks, as there had been tales of local devastations ever since the white man's first sortie into the buffalo country, but most people east of the counties of the plains discounted the reports as "sensational newspaper stuff as usual, cooked up in the printshops to fill space." Then when word came from Jewell county that the pests were crossing over from Nebraska like a blizzard, darkening the very light of the sun, people began to wonder if they might not get as far east as Topeka. They were headed southeast; like a freakish summer storm, they mightn't strike the country north of the Kansas after all. But on the incredible sky-filling myriads came like the very wrath of God, benumbing the imagination.

We were at the table; the usual midday meal was being served; one of the youngsters who had gone to the well to fill the water pitcher came hurrying in, round-eyed with excitement. "They're here! The sky is full of'm. The whole yard is crawling with the nasty things." Food halfway to the mouth fell back upon the plate. Without speaking the whole family passed outside. Sharp spats in the face, insects alighted on the shoulders, in the hair, scratchy rustlings on the roofs, disgusted brushing of men's beards, the frightened whimper of a child, "Are they going to eat us up?" Turkeys gobbling the living manna as fast as their snaky heads could dart from side to side; overhead, the sun, dimmed like the beginning of an eclipse, glinted on silvery wings as far as eyes could pierce; leaves of shade trees, blades of grass and weedstems

bending with the weight of clinging inch-long horrors; a faint, sickening stench of their excrement; the afternoon breeze clogged with the drift of the descending creatures.

Not much was said, children huddling against their mother, whose hand touched lightly the father's arm. Men and larger boys got out the corn-knives, whetted them hurriedly across the grindstone and set out for the cornfields. Before sunset they came back weary and dispirited, the corn-stalks, they said, were already naked as beanpoles. It was a good thing that a big cutting of prairie hay had been stacked early—it'd be needed when snow came. The garden truck had disappeared, even the dry onions were gone, leaving smooth molds in the ground empty as uncorked bottles. Fruit hung on the leafless branches, the upper surface gnawed to the core. The woods looked thin as in late autumn. Someone called attention to the pitted earth here and there and we discovered 'hoppers with their ovipositors sunk to the wings, filling the pits with eggs.

Water troughs and loosely covered wells were foul with drowned 'hoppers. Neighbors passing spoke of strange happenings. A young wife awaiting her first baby, in the absence of her husband, "over t'wards Hickory Point" had gone insane from fright, "all alone in that sun-baked shanty on the bald prairie." Eggs and milk tasted of the 'hoppers and cows were drying up somebody said, who'd been over at Osawkee to the mill. A train had stalled on a curve coming out of Leavenworth on the narrow-gauge because the crushed grass-hoppers greased the track so that the wheels couldn't take hold till the train crew shoveled sand on the rails. Some thought the grass-hoppers were thinning out somewhat, moving east on the wind—millions of them perishing in the river, but plenty of them made the crossing and were already as far east as Carrollton and Sedalia in Missouri. Some of the farmers here and there began plowing their denuded corn lands for wheat, turning up the 'hopper eggs to the sun and harrowing the ground thoroughly in hope of destroying the pests as they hatched. Others said that was wasted effort and the wheat'd better be saved for bread. "If winter didn't kill them off, it was all up with the people, there'd never be another harvest in Kansas."

Again the covered wagons began to appear on the main traveled roads, heading east. It was said that the railroads were hauling western settlers free out of the western counties to save them from starving on their claims, homesteaders and those who had made a payment or two on railroad lands. Again the cry for "aid" for

"starving Kansas" was heard all over the country "Back East." Poor bedeviled Kansas, would that Godforsaken land ever be able to feed its people?—and every one of the older states had still uncultivated soil enough to feed a million more inhabitants than it had! It was all very well to glorify the pioneer, but what chiefly ailed the American people was their everlasting restlessness. Never satisfied with the advantages they had, but always hungering for the West, pulling up stakes and moving on, restless as the grasshoppers themselves.

A state relief committee, organized "when the legislature shirked its job," was evangelizing the East for "aid" and once more it was "begging Kansas," to the disgust of the more provident farmers like the Plum Grove folks who felt it was high time that the state should stand on its own feet, considering the taxes they had been paying and the scandals that had disgraced its financial affairs. Money could be raised for everything else and bonds could be voted by the legislature for every wildcat scheme suggested heretofore, but not a cent out of the state treasury for the state's "hopper victims." Of course every decent person would share anything he had with his needy neighbors in such a crisis, but this everlasting panhandling the East was beneath the dignity of a solvent commonwealth. The good people of the older states would give and give, as they'd been doing ever since the territory had been made a battleground to propagate the Republican party, but Kansas ought to have some pride by this time. What would the bonding of the state for another million dollars, to feed its needy, amount to as against its good name, at home and abroad, when one or two good crops would square the bill under decent management? Pass the hat and let all give what they could; then let the people's government shoulder the burden for whatever was necessary to carry the destitute over till the next harvest.

So spoke the men of Plum Grove. Not a pennyworth of the "aid" so generously poured into the state would any of their folks accept. None of them went hungry, none of them lacked clothing or fuel to keep them warm the winter after the grasshoppers came. There was bread grain and there was meat, thin, to be sure, but as always there had been something left over from the previous year in every household, lard and molasses and dried fruit, and there was this year's potato crop, too deep in the ground for the 'hoppers, there was milk for the children, even if they had to buy wheat bran from the North to make a hot mash for the cow after the shock-corn nubbins were

gone and hay gave out before grass in the spring. Hogs and cattle were sold at a cent a pound, delivered at the railroad for Iowa and Eastern feeders. Again they reduced their livestock to a bare new start. They cut and hauled cordwood to trade in at the stores in town, at four dollars a cord, to buy winter boots and shoes. What cattle they couldn't sell some of them gathered up in herds to be driven across the river and wintered on shares among their folks in Missouri,—which by the way, was reciprocated the next year when Missouri pastures failed and livestock was brought back to be fattened on the speculators' open lands along the divide.

Fortunately the winter of 1874-1875 was relatively mild, though not so mild as the following one when the ground did not freeze till late in February after the blue birds appeared, weeks ahead of their usual arrival. Planting was unusually early in the spring of 1875; though the eggs of the 'hoppers hatched so fast that by the time the plowman made the round, his previous furrow was squirming with the young creepers. Harrowing destroyed most of them, but uncultivated fencerows, and all outside the planted ground supplied armies of devouring and insatiable creepers that moved over the face of the earth consuming every green thing. Gardens, weeds, newly sprouting field crops, the very lint on fence rails and the accumulated dead leaves in the woods down to the bare ground. We fought the creeping armies with dusty furrows, pits and fire. They could be herded with buckbush brooms wherever we chose, even into the flaming mouth of the furnace under the soap kettles. Nothing could stay their advance until their wings sprouted and they rose into the air to ride the spring winds and disappear as they had come, a mysterious visitation never to return. Scientists told us afterward that their breeding grounds in the northwestern plains had later been destroyed by the trampling herds of cattlemen from Texas and the advance of the wheat growers.

Seasonable showers, replanting and vigorous cultivation after the 'hoppers were gone, produced a good crop of corn and late gardens. Corn planted on June 18 stood six feet tall on July 23, the newspapers recorded, and the blessed prairie grass kept on growing after it had been gnawed to the ancient mat of roots all over the speculators' lands. That year baling presses were set up at Winchester and Nortonville furnishing a ready market for wild hay for shipment to the East. And we used to say God never made better roughage, for horses especially, than the clean, sweet, dustless prairie hay that grew free as air and water for whomsoever would take the

trouble to harvest it. Certain it is that without it, the early Kansans could hardly have survived.

The grasshopper years exacted a fearful toll from the lives of the Plum Grove people and "their kind of folks" over the country, far more serious and far-reaching than any of them could have known at the time. And few of their descendants today can appreciate what those exhausting years did to the pioneers' spirit and to the mental attitude of their children, and children's children. The original settlers of Plum Grove had arrived in the new territory of the flowery prairies full of hope, determination and in the prime of their bodily vigor. The oldest of them, William Meredith and John Faubion were in their forty-seventh year. All the other fathers and mothers were from ten to twenty years younger. All of their Missouri-born children were under eighteen. James Rickman and John Horner, the youngest of the men, were each barely twenty-seven. The youngest of the wives were not yet twenty-five. Those who had survived were well past middle age when the grasshoppers came and growing weary in body and retrospective in mind. No longer were they looking forward to the modest fortune and prosperous comfort they had in expectation when they crossed the river which separated them from all they had known. The younger generation married in Kansas, or at least beginning their wedded lives in the new state, were rearing families of children too large for their circumstances, most of them on rented farms, as yet unable to acquire permanent homes of their own. Kansas had not turned out to be the land of small-farmers such as their people had been for generations. Even some of their fathers were heard to regret that they were too old to begin life anew in the broader land of opportunity in the far West. Everybody was settling down to a more or less hopeless endurance of present depressing conditions for men with little capital, or restlessly contemplating another good crop and removal to where a man could make a new start, *somewhere, somehow.*

Clearly for them the old days were gone, a new age was upon them. The grasshopper years had settled that definitely. Taxes had gone delinquent, debts had accumulated, "everything a man could make went to the storekeepers and to the money lenders." Chattel mortgages had come to be a curse to the whole state and even the legislature was worried about the financial condition of the common citizen. The whole effort and energy of the farmer, on whom everything depended, seemed to be drained off to support

the town dwellers, most of whom "apparently had nothing better to do than to loaf in the shade, or about the saloons, telling dirty stories or cooking up some slick scheme to gouge the country folks." A morbid condition of mind was settling upon the once independent tillers of the soil. "Raise less corn and more hell," was a common slogan. And the soil was no longer the reservoir of age-long accumulated plant-food it had been when the black ribbons of overturned sod stretched unbroken from one end of the field to the other. Every rainstorm now washed a thick broth of fertility down the gentle slopes, baring patches and gullies of yellow hardpan, rubbery putty when wet and stony hard when dry. Barnyard manure and futile attempts at seeding to clover and timothy, had failed to prevent the impoverishment of their rolling fields. Hog cholera one year had swept away the chief source of money to clothe their families and pay off the most pressing debts. Mortgaged farms for the first time became a menace to the Plum Grove neighbors.

James Rickman was thought extremely lucky when he was able to sell a part of his homestead to clear the rest of debt a few months before he died in 1880. He had been one of the solid citizens of the community, kindly and humorous, but stern minded against irreverent frivolity and all manner of loose-speaking and intemperance, as became his Scotch-Irish ancestry. There was a tradition that his first immigrant ancestor crossing to the New World had been shipwrecked and saved his life by a stupendous effort, swimming and keeping afloat many hours till he was picked up. It is not known which of the older states he came from to Missouri in his childhood, probably Indiana, however, since he had relatives there. He had been a plainsman in his younger manhood, probably connected with the freighting business on the Santa Fé trail or in government service to the far frontier army posts. One story of his adventurous experience out there on the southwestern desert he used to recall as a warning to us youngsters against uncontrolled temper. He and his wagon mate were at breakfast after days of wearisome and dangerous travel, when some trivial disagreement arose between them. Hot words led to a blow and young Rickman lunged at his partner with the butcher knife in his hand. The stroke fell short, but ripped belt and shirt to the skin. The horror of coming so close to killing his friend, he never got over, shuddering at the thought of it as long as he lived. It modified his naturally violent temper thereafter, but it was hard for him to forgive an affront or

injury. His silent withdrawal from intercourse with one who had offended him, was mistaken by his neighbors for a stubborn resentment, "holding a grudge," but nobody who knew him ever accused him of wronging a neighbor or failing in offices of kindly services in time of need. He loved the woods, kept bees and knew the stolen home of every wild swarm in the country round about. The cutting of a beetree was an adventure that appealed to his nature and was a delight he shared with the boys of the neighborhood. The picture comes back to memory of his felling a wide-branched hollow elm near the creek on a hot afternoon in early autumn, his white shirt sweated tight to his thick chest, his eyes eager with the prospect of a "good haul of wild honey, like John the Baptist lived on in the desert, boys," and his gratification when we filled a washtub with comb, some white and new and some brown as tobacco from previous seasons. It was he that gave the name of Honey creek to the chief branch of our creek, since applied on government maps to the whole north fork. His courage and resolution was often proved. Riding into Winchester one afternoon, he found a young son of a Crooked creek friend beset by bullying "hellions about Ned's own age egged on by their fathers and a pack of loafers!" Uncle Jim Rickman with a broken fence-rail took his station as umpire, saw the fight through to Ned's hard won victory, washed the bloody victor at the horsetrough, bought him a new shirt and rode home with the young man. Staid church-member, as he was, he often chuckled when the affair was referred to in his presence. "I warned 'm to stand back and let the two settle it, or I'd crack the feller that interfered—and I meant it." He and his much beloved wife, Aunt Eliza, had many children, who were all married, dead or widely scattered, years before her death in 1910, in Oskaloosa. She won a prize at an old settlers' meeting a year or so before, for the longest residence on her original homestead of anyone in that part of the county.

James Henry Meredith, died in August, 1885, in the Kansas valley, opposite old Lecompton, of a recurrent disorder contracted during his military service. We brought him back to old Plum Grove for burial beside his Mary, and half a mile of farm wagons and lighter vehicles filled with old friends followed his coffin to its final resting place.

He was a "man without an enemy, naturally quick-tempered, but 'just and placable always,' too much so for his own good, for people took advantage of his generosity." Slender, dark haired, blue eyed

and sandy bearded, wiry and agile, he was not so robust as some of his brothers, for "he had worked too hard before he was fully grown, the first years in Kansas."

He was a notable hunter always. The year before his death his oldtime hunting companion wanted to know if "Jimmy still went deer-hunting the morning after the first 'little skift of snow?'"—recalling to mind how one evening at dusk he rode up to the door with a fat buck behind his saddle and a wild turkey at each knee. That was the winter of 1868-1869, when we had venison, turkey, wild goose or some other game, from the first snow till the February thaw. Very often he used to lower a frozen carcass from the roof-tree and shave off steaks for breakfast. Buckskin "whangs," wild-goose or turkey wings for dusters always hung curing by the kitchen stove or beside the chimney jamb those days, and Jim could cut as neat a quill pen as any old time schoolmaster. The spring he moved to the Shelt Britton place he tried hard to get Shelt to sell him a planting of Peachblow potatoes, new in that neighborhood, but Shelt refused—he wanted the crop for his own use. Then a few days after, Jim plowed up a gopher hill and found a peck or so of fine seed potatoes, so he had a good patch of Peachblows after all, much to Shelt's disgust. That year, too, he raised the finest musk melons anybody in the country roundabout had ever seen. He took one to a campmeeting Sunday dinner at Plum Grove, "a monster, fourteen or fifteen inches long, ten inches t'other way, delicious beyond description, and all the old neighbors and relatives begged a few seeds of it." "What Jim couldn't raise in the way of new kinds of truck there was no use in anybody else trying." He was always much interested in the improvement of farm crop varieties and livestock, a good practical veterinary whose services interfered often with his own interests.

Much broken in spirit by Mary's death, he took over the burden of his father's homestead for ten years, devoting his all to the rearing of his five young children whom he lived to see grown men and women, dying before his time, worn out and very poor. Of independent mind, his opinion and judgment was much trusted, his religious ideas were more modern than usual among his kin, a source of some anxiety to his sectarian friends, though nowadays his beliefs would be mildly Unitarian. His education, beyond elementary schooling, was the result of his own wide reading and candid thinking. His love and knowledge of Shakespeare and American history often disconcerted people of greater cultural pretensions. "Ask Jim

about that, he'll tell you," was a common expression when political topics were under discussion. "Now, if you'll just read that as you hear us folks talk, maybe it won't puzzle you," was the advice he gave an experienced school teacher who was debating a passage in Hamlet or Macbeth. For our people used as common speech the language they had brought to Virginia while yet Shakespeare was a living memory. And the generations had done little to change it save in confusing past tense and participle, and suchlike homely locutions.

"Jim and Mary" represented the connecting link between the first rough-log cabin days of the migration across the river and the beginning of the dispersion of the Plum Grove folks after the state had entered its fourth decade of corporate existence. Their parents represented the departure from the Atlantic seaboard and the trek to the edge of settlement by "our kind of folks" in the Missouri valley of 1833. "Jim and Mary" represent the settlement of Kansas, as the present writer and his wife represent the final longest migration to the Pacific tidewaters, completing the traverse of the continent since 1640 or perhaps a few years earlier. It is typical strand in the warp and woof of American history.

Individuals had scattered out from Plum Grove, but William Meredith was the first to lose his homestead by the forces which led to the final dispersion, for today not one of the descendants of the Plum Grove pioneers retains an acre of the original homesteads of the 1854-1855 settlement. He was the eldest of the settlers, perhaps the most prosperous during the first two decades. Approaching age, failing strength, the accumulation of debt, due to the care of a large family over a succession of calamitous seasons, and a security debt for a friend ruined him. But most of all it was due to a natural change in economic conditions in the country's development to which he could not adjust himself. He relinquished his homestead and ended his days on a rented farm, in the spring of 1888. His wife Nancy survived him but a year or two. He was of robust frame, five feet nine or ten, "never inclined to portliness," square-built, dark-haired, one eye "Virginia blue," the other brown, weighing about one hundred ninety-five pounds, a noticeable man in any assembly. Of positive though unassuming demeanor, somewhat intolerant of compromise in matters of strict probity, he held the respect and liking of all who knew him during a long and active life in the affairs of his community. He had the character of a patriarch

of his tribe. Detesting servility as much as he condemned any pretense of aristocracy, he was democratic to the core.

Reproached by an old friend for refusing to take advantage of a legal technicality by which he might have saved some part of his estate, he was fierce in his rejection of the kindly meant advice. "I'm too old to play the baby act. Let the law take its course. I'll not crawfish out of a bargain—and that's the word with the bark on it." His friend said no more, but years afterward, recounting the matter he still held "half a loaf is better than no bread, and your granddad might have abated his pride and harmed nobody." His descendant thinks differently.

In the spectacular Oklahoma opening rush several Plum Grove families and individuals found their opportunity for a new start in a new country. Others began to find employment in the great railroad shops at Topeka and in like industrial establishments in Kansas City, in new centers west and south. Lately word has come of some as far east as Ford's automobile works around Detroit. Now the grandchildren and great grandchildren are frequently heard from in every state from the Canadian border to Mexico. Which is also characteristic of the pioneer breed which opens the way to later and tamer and more acquisitive kinds of folks, better adapted to the competitive atmosphere of crowded centers. It may well be that a recrudescence of the pioneer spirit will ultimately lead us to the richer life in closer contact with the good earth from which we have all sprung and from which all of us must in the final analysis of our economic and social development draw our essential sustenance.

James Henry Clay Hopewell was buried in 1911, his wife, Mary Jane, in 1918. Napoleon Bonaparte, his brother, had passed on in 1896, having survived his wife Jane Catherine nine years.

Robert Morgan Carter, died in 1905, thirty years after the death of his second wife Amanda.

The death dates of John and Elizabeth Jeffries, of Jacob and Esekias Faubion and their wives are not available at present, though inquiry has been made and doubtless will be recovered in the not distant future. They were all good neighbors, law-abiding, kindly, unpretentious, industrious, and their descendants may well be proud of them as worthy citizens of the nation.

Of the Missouri-born children who came with their parents to Plum Grove, some three or four died before they reached their teens. Alexander Meredith, next younger than "Jim," and their brother

Charles Wesley, married sisters, Davidella and Mary Elizabeth Long, daughters of John S. and Agatha Long, of the old neighborhood in Clay county, Missouri, Scotch and Irish by descent and Kentuckian born, that is the parents, the daughters and several sons having been born in Missouri.

Mary Jane Meredith, older daughter of William and Nancy, married David May, of Rural township, also Missouri born, a nephew of Caleb May who helped frame the Wyandotte constitution. David was a union veteran, a great friend and admirer of his brother-in-law "Jim."

Julia Ann, younger sister of "Jim," married the Rev. John Wesley Faubion, who took over by purchase from the heirs the homestead of John Faubion, his grand-uncle. "Preacher Johnny," or "Brother Johnny," as he was known among us, was of a line of ministers for several generations. He and his younger brother Nathaniel, and a cousin William Edward Broadhurst, were long known in Kansas as able circuit-riding pastors. John Wesley was agent for his conference in the founding and promoting of Enoch Marvin College at Oskaloosa. He and his wife died in Arkansas City about 1900.

Benjamin Franklin Meredith, born 1849, the youngest of the family, married Nancy Elizabeth, second daughter of John and Elizabeth Jeffries, and it was in their home that William and Nancy died near Dunavant.

Margaret Elgivia, the eldest child of John and Elizabeth Jeffries, married Spencer Houston, first born of Esekias and Serena Faubion.

Of N. B. Hopewell's sons and daughters, Thomas J. married Sara Lyons; Henry married Margaret Lacey, the second daughter of T. W. Lacey. Mary Jane married George Garrett; the third son, Oskar, married a neighbor girl whose name is not at hand; the younger daughter, Nancy, married George Corn.

Spencer Bird, son of Charlotte Faubion, Nancy Faubion Meredith's sister, died 1923; his wife Amanda Moseby, 1919. They are buried at Plum Grove. Their daughter Katie married Francis Marion Carter, son of Robert M. and of Amanda, Robert's second wife.

All of that Missouri-born generation are now dead, so far as records show, as are most of their younger, Kansas-born brothers and sisters. The grandchildren of the Plum Grove pioneers, of whom the present writer is the eldest survivor, are mostly aged men and women, and the other descendants, as has been said, are scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico, mostly

in the West. The farmer-tradition among them, which ruled the lives of the Plum Grove pioneers, making them somewhat intolerant of sedentary occupation, is less urgent nowadays. Professional and mechanical employment seems to be most prevalent. Probably most of them at times envy the sturdy, independent, laborious and decidedly respectable lives of their ancestors who founded and developed the small colony of "Our Kind of Folks" at the "head of Slough creek" in 1854-1855.

As a distant relative writes from Texas, "none of them has ever been in jail, except, maybe for fighting," and fighting was so rare among the men at Plum Grove that the one remembered unimportant affair of "bloody noses" was a sort of thing from which other more notable incidents used humorously to be dated. At the present writing only three lawsuits in nearly a hundred years are recalled among the connection, two friendly suits to quiet title and one election contested in court. Aesop's fable of "the two cats, the monkey and the hunk of cheese" has always been a favorite precept among us.

John Brown and the Manes Incident

JAMES C. MALIN

IN view of the neglect of the John Brown theme as a subject of research by American historians one might be led to the conclusion that it had been exhausted. It is a fact, which seems to pass unnoticed, that no professional historian has written a biography of John Brown, and even more significant that the profession has produced scarcely an important monograph on any phase of the subject. The only recent contribution which may serve as the exception that emphasizes the generalization is the article by R. V. Harlow on Gerrit Smith.¹

Several years ago the present author began work on a phase of the subject which appeared to be of only magazine-article size. After several year's work, that innocent beginning has developed into a project for a large book, "John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six," the story of one year of the Old Hero's life and the way it has been transformed into folklore. It is surprising how historians and biographers of Brown have overlooked even the most obvious materials, an example of which is presented here.

Oswald Garrison Villard's *John Brown* is usually referred to as monumental, and at the time of its publication the reviewers, almost without exception, seemed to be convinced that the research had been complete and exhaustive. Villard declared that the place assigned John Brown in history depended to a large degree on the view taken of the Pottawatomie massacre (p. 148). In searching for the evidence upon which justification of the murders could be based, he eliminated most of the incidents traditionally alleged, concluding that the evidence "establishes in the neighborhood of Osawatomie only five definite Proslavery offences." This list of five was headed by one which "seems to be established beyond doubt that Poindexter Manes,² a Free-Soil settler, was knocked down and beaten for having a *New York Tribune* in his pocket" (p. 172). It is not the intent of this paper to trace Villard through the mazes of his forty-one page chapter on the Pottawatomie massacre. The Manes incident alone, the strongest buttressed of his five Proslavery offenses, is to be discussed.

1. R. V. Harlow, "Gerrit Smith and the John Brown Raid," *The American Historical Review*, v. 38 (October, 1932), pp. 32-60.

2. The name has been variously spelled: Manes, Maness, Manace, etc.

Villard cited as his authority for this story, "established beyond doubt," three references: The statement of John B. Manes, a son of Poindexter Manes, published in the *Garnett Plaindealer*, January 9, 1880; the reminiscences of S. J. Shively³ and the Andreas-Cutler *History of the State of Kansas*. As a sample of the principles of historical criticism used by Villard this is a good illustration, although friends of Villard might insist that it is not typical. The Andreas-Cutler history was a commercial subscription project assembled in about one year's time by untrained writers, and published in 1883. The authority for the Manes story as given in this work was not indicated.⁴ The Shively reminiscences were read before the Kansas State Historical Society in 1903 and were written by a man who was born in Missouri in 1861, five years after the event, and grew up in Kansas in the Pottawatomie creek community. This paper was, therefore, reminiscences of other people's reminiscences, and was flagrantly erroneous in most respects, and in particular, he assigned the Manes incident to the year 1855 and had John Brown, Jr., organize his Pottawatomie Rifles to avenge it, although this particular military company was not in existence until 1856. It is difficult to comprehend how Villard should have felt justified in using such citations as support for his decision that the Manes incident was "established beyond doubt." Certainly he did not examine with any degree of care the history of these particular publications.

By process of elimination it would seem that any authority for the Manes incident cited by Villard really depended upon the statement of John B. Manes, the son of Poindexter, but that needed careful examination. Although Villard did not inform his readers John was eleven years of age in 1856 and wrote the statement over the date line of December 29, 1879—the twenty-four-year-old reminiscences of an eleven-year-old boy.⁵ This was just after the Townsley "confession," published December 11, 1879, had completed the explosion of the legend that John Brown had not even been near the Pottawatomie and did not have anything to do with the murders. Now that the crime was pinned positively upon him, many of the friends of Brown were hard put to reverse suddenly their positions

3. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 177-187.

4. The present author has been able to determine with reasonable certainty, however, that the source was James Hanway, whose first published version of the incident thus far found was printed in 1869 in the *Ottawa Republic*.—"J. H. Hanway Scrapbooks," v. 4, 184 ff. in the Kansas State Historical Society library.

5. The determination of the age of John B. Manes is derived from the Kansas state census records for 1865 and for 1875. In 1856 Poindexter Manes was 47 years of age.

and collect incidents, to invent outrages, or to juggle chronology to make it appear that John Brown was justified in the crime. It was under these circumstances that John B. Manes came forward with his contribution, but in justice to him it must be said that the story had been long current as a community tradition and that James Hanway, who always had insisted that John Brown was the leader of the massacre party, had used it in the same manner since 1869 in his newspaper publication of local history. It was out of this kind of historical evidence, however, that Villard's house of cards was built.

It is not necessary to prolong the matter further, as the New York *Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1856, has the full answer. Buried in a long communication "From Our Special Correspondent" (probably W. A. Phillips) is the following under a Leavenworth date line of August 2, introduced by the comment that the incident happened a week ago:

A settler had been to the post-office at Osawatomie to get his mail. On his return these gentry [Border Ruffians] waylaid, stopped and searched him. Besides the Topeka paper, and one or two Eastern journals, he had the *Tribune*. He was at once accused of carrying incendiary documents, knocked down, beat and kicked. He contrived to get away from them. When they had him down they swore that any man who would take a paper that supported Frémont ought to be hung. . . .

There is no question about the identity of the incident, although the Manes name was not mentioned, or of the date, which was the last week of July, 1856. The Pottawatomie murders had occurred the night of May 24-25 preceding. The Manes incident was a result, therefore, and not a cause of John Brown's crime, and it was that unprovoked massacre of Proslavery settlers that brought down upon the innocent Free-State men of that region the worst of the outrages they suffered at the hands of the Border Ruffians.

S. C. Pomeroy and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1854-1858

(Concluded)

EDGAR LANGSDORF

POMEROY arrived in Boston on January 4, 1856, and soon after began a tour of the New England states, as he had done in 1854 and in 1855, to raise funds for the Aid Company and for Kansas. He spoke at meetings in Maine, where he addressed the state legislature,¹ and in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Vermont. The Wakarusa war, if it accomplished nothing else, did succeed in reawakening Northern interest in Kansas,² and Pomeroy, an experienced speaker, was in great demand. "The calls for General Pomeroy are so numerous and his time so limited," Doctor Webb explained, "it will be necessary for him to visit those places where he is most likely to effect the greatest amount of good."³

However, Pomeroy spent nearly four months in the East and in the month of February alone more than \$5,000 was contributed directly as a result of his efforts.⁴ On February 4 Secretary Webb wrote to Wm. J. Rotch, of New Bedford, to suggest holding a public meeting to raise funds for the general relief of Kansas. He wanted also to have a private meeting with some of the prominent citizens in hopes they would subscribe to the company's stock. "For both of these purposes," he said, "we rely mainly on the abilities of Mr. Pomeroy."⁵ At the quarterly meeting of the directors on February 26 Vice President Williams mentioned

in an especial manner the valuable aid he had rendered the Cause of Freedom and Humanity by addressing public meetings in various sections of New England, and also the important assistance he had furnished in the way of raising funds for the relief of those who suffered by the invasion of Lawrence.⁶

That Pomeroy had rendered valuable financial assistance to the company as well is attested by the treasurer's books, which up to

1. Members of the legislature and citizens of Augusta contributed \$270 as a result of Pomeroy's speech.—Webb to E. W. Farley, February 16, in "Emigrant Aid Papers," "Webb Letter Books." Cf., Pomeroy to Webb, January 29, in "EAP," correspondence.

2. "At no time," wrote Doctor Webb, "has there been manifested so wide spread a sympathy for our Kansas friends as since the recent Border Ruffian invasion of Lawrence."—Webb to Wm. McGeorge, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., March 6, 1856, in "Webb Letter Books."

3. Letter to F. E. Patrick, secretary of the Republican club of Conway, Mass., January 19, in *ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

5. *Ibid.*

6. "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. II, p. 62. For specific reference to some places and dates of Pomeroy's addresses see *ibid.*, *passim*.

November, 1855, had showed a continuous deficit but which in March showed a balance of over \$18,000 and at the annual meeting in May a balance of more than \$5,000.⁷

The company's problems at this time were complicated by political and economic conditions in the territory. The winter of 1855-1856 was unusually severe and many settlers were forced to depend on Eastern relief organizations for help.⁸ Pomeroy and other Kansans assisted in this work, and well-attended meetings were held at New York, Philadelphia and Albany, as well as at other smaller cities.⁹ At several of these meetings rifles were subscribed for in addition to money; feeling was running high in the East and the utterances of such men as Henry Ward Beecher did nothing to abate it.

In fact, the situation was more serious in the spring of 1856 than at any time previously. The Free-State party had elected state officers under the Topeka constitution in January, settling for the time being a threatened split in the party ranks,¹⁰ but fear of new invasions from Missouri caused leaders at Lawrence to telegraph the President and to inform members of congress that they were campaigning diligently in the East. By February agitation had become so general that the President issued a proclamation warning all persons that United States troops and local militia would be called upon to put down "any attempted insurrection" in Kansas territory or "aggressive intrusion into the same."¹¹

The crisis came in April with the shooting of Sheriff Samuel J. Jones. Although the Free-State men of Lawrence immediately disavowed the act, the Proslavery forces apparently believed it afforded an excuse for attempting to drive their opponents from the territory by force. This they proceeded to try forthwith, and their campaign of terrorism was climaxed by the "sack of Lawrence" on May 21.¹²

7. "EAP," "Records of Annual Meetings," Cf., Harlow, "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," in *American Historical Review*, v. XLI, No. 1 (October, 1935), pp. 10-25.

8. The most prominent of these agencies was the New York State Kansas Committee, of which William Barnes was secretary. Cf., the "Wm. Barnes Papers," Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

9. Pomeroy to Wm. Barnes, April 16, 1856; H. J. King to M. McGowen, March 27; Russell Hebbard to M. McGowen, April 26, in *ibid*. See, also, "Kansas Territorial Clippings," v. III, Pt. 2, pp. 113-114, and handbill in Pomeroy's writing, advertising a meeting at Faneuil hall on March 13, in "Pomeroy Papers."

10. Cf., Brewerton, *The War in Kansas*, pp. 345-348.

11. J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, v. V, pp. 390-391. The proclamation is virtually a repetition of Pierce's message to the congress on January 24.—*Ibid.*, pp. 352-360.

12. Pomeroy's "Reminiscences," in "Kansas Biographical Scrap Book," "P," v. VI, pp. 118, 120. Descriptions of these events as the Antislavery North saw them may be found in almost every account dealing with the period, especially in Gladstone, Phillips, Holloway, Elbridge, Williams, etc.

Pomeroy had reached Kansas in May and had been at once appointed chairman of a reorganized committee of safety which was attempting to work out a policy of nonresistance to the territorial officers.¹³ The object was to place upon the federal government the responsibility for attacks and damages that might come from Pro-slavery, official hands—for they seemed to the Free Staters synonymous terms. Pomeroy was almost the only prominent Free-State partisan who was not under arrest at this time, and during the attack on Lawrence he took a leading part in its defense.¹⁴ The question was whether to defend the town against the posse of the United States marshal or to "turn the other cheek" and let the mob do as it pleased. The majority of the citizens favored resistance but the leaders thought it wiser to adopt A. A. Lawrence's "Fabian" policy and therefore coöperated with the posse. However, immediately after the marshal had dismissed his men Sheriff Jones enrolled them in his own unauthorized and unofficial posse and it was this troop that entered the town later in the day. To them Pomeroy, after consulting with the members of the committee, turned over all arms, including the lone cannon. Jones and his men then spent an enjoyable afternoon in pillaging houses, burning the Eldridge house—formerly the Aid Company's hotel, and wrecking the printing offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State*.

Feeling in the north was heightened by news of the invasion. A renewed wave of money, supplies and weapons surged into the territory. Even before the news reached the East the unceasing campaign for funds for the general assistance of the territory was being conducted under forced pressure and there is reason to believe that arrival of the news greatly stimulated this drive. On May 22, before he had learned of the attack, A. A. Lawrence wrote:

The crisis appears to be on the settlers now: money buys every thing, and they want everything, and have no money to get it, nor time to earn it. There are many brave hearts there, but they have got stomachs near them. If you should send to S. C. Pomeroy, Kansas City, Missouri, it will be in safe hands.¹⁵

Upon receipt of Pomeroy's telegram announcing the Lawrence invasion Lawrence wrote that the news had "cast a gloom" over the company's annual meeting, but only stirred them to go forward more

13. J. N. Holloway, *History of Kansas*, p. 320; William Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas*, p. 280.

14. Cf., Holloway, *op. cit.*, p. 320; Thomas H. Gladstone, *The Englishman in Kansas* (New York, 1857), pp. 60, 61; Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-275; Geo. W. Brown, *False Claims* . . . pp. 12-13; *Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker* (Rockford, Ill., 1902), p. 200; "Memorial of the New England Emigrant Aid Company . . .," *Senate Miscellaneous Document*, No. 29, 37th Cong., 3 Sess.

15. Lawrence to I. M. Bunce, in "EAF," "Lawrence Letters," p. 143. Similar letter to Abner Curtis, of East Abington, Mass., not in "Letters."

strongly than ever. As to the surrender of the arms, Lawrence said, he did not doubt that Pomeroy had had good reason for his action. "The Fabian policy is the true one—gain time—weary out the aggressors, and when you gain strength to defeat them, then strike the blow."¹⁶ At the same time Lawrence sent \$500 to be distributed among the settlers, and Anson J. Stone, assistant treasurer of the company, authorized Pomeroy to lend them \$3,000 to \$5,000, with more promised as soon as it could be raised. "However surprising it may be to the Border Ruffians," Stone wrote, "the slavery Border Ruffian outrage will probably be the cause of fulfilling Atchison's remark made last winter, viz: 'give an Abolition President for the United States in 1856'."¹⁷

Shortly after the invasion Pomeroy left for the East again. There was great demand, he said, for men who had been concerned in the excitement to come and tell the story. He stopped at Chicago to lecture and received contributions of \$2,000; at Cleveland he was given \$800 more, all this money being spent later for rifles and ammunition for the Free-State men in Kansas.¹⁸ During the summer he spoke in many of the Eastern states but oratory was incidental to his other activities. After spending a few days at his home in Southampton and conferring with the officers of the Aid Company in Boston he was off to Philadelphia as a delegate from Kansas to the first national Republican convention.¹⁹ An incidental result of the meeting was an agreement among the Kansas delegates and a few other persons to begin a thorough canvass of Pennsylvania after July 1 in the interests of Fremont, the Republican nominee. They believed his victory would be an inestimable boon to their cause in Kansas, and Pennsylvania, Buchanan's native state, was considered the most doubtful of the Northern states.²⁰

Almost simultaneously the Aid Company appointed Pomeroy to be one of its representatives at a delegate convention of Kansas aid societies at Cleveland. The officers, "although utterly ignorant of the object of the call" for this convention, felt that the company should be represented.²¹ The convention, an outgrowth of a meeting

16. Lawrence to Pomeroy, undated, in "Lawrence Letters," p. 144. Cf., Lawrence to Robinson, January 31, 1856, in "Robinson Collection."

17. Stone to Pomeroy, May 26, in "EAP," correspondence.

18. "Reminiscences," pp. 122-123.

19. S. W. Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. II, p. 66. Pomeroy's "Reminiscences," pp. 130-133.

20. G. P. Lowrey to Robinson, Easton, Pa., June 23, in "Robinson Collection."

21. Webb to Wm. Barnes, June 18, in "Wm. Barnes Papers." Also "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm." v. II, p. 128; and Webb to Pomeroy, June 20, in "Webb Letter Books." This statement scarcely agrees with Eli Thayer's claim to being the originator of the convention idea (*Kansas Crusade*, p. 212), although Thayer was active in the convention and in the work which followed.

in New York on June 9,²² was scheduled for June 20 at Cleveland, but according to Eli Thayer was postponed until the 26th to accommodate Governor Reeder, and again was adjourned to meet July 9 at Buffalo because Thayer himself could not be present on the 26th.²³ A pamphlet report of the proceedings of the convention, however, indicates that Thayer is in error. Meetings were held at Cleveland on June 20 and 21 and Reeder, who arrived during the afternoon session on June 20, was named permanent president of the convention. On the same evening he delivered a speech at Chapin's hall, Cleveland. On the last day the convention named Pomeroy, Reeder, and T. P. Eldridge as members of the central executive committee for Kansas territory. An address prepared for the public stated that the objects of the convention and its organization were to send 5,000 new emigrants to Kansas, to see that they and the settlers already in the territory were amply provided for, and to raise for this purpose the sum of \$1,000,000. The convention then adjourned to meet on July 9 and 10 at Buffalo.²⁴ It was this final meeting that was responsible for the organization of the National Kansas Committee and the location of its headquarters in Chicago. The purpose of the committee was to raise men, money, and supplies and to send them to Kansas, a task at which they worked diligently during the following months.

At the time of his appointment Pomeroy was in Washington where he was attempting to perform a two-fold task as the agent of the Aid Company and as a representative of the Free-State party. In the former capacity he was instructed to press the company's claim against the government for the destruction of the territorial hotel at Lawrence and for other depredations of the territorial officers.²⁵ In the latter he was one of a group of Free-State men who were lobbying among the members of congress. Pomeroy believed the best procedure for the Antislavery men in the territory was to remain quiet, to do nothing that could be construed as a violation of good faith and so justify congress in refusing help. A letter of one of these lobbyists remarks that this policy of nonresistance had

22. Webb to Barnes, June 14, in "Wm. Barnes Papers." Cf., "Hyatt Collection."

23. Thayer, *Kansas Crusade*, pp. 212-214. Thayer to F. G. Adams, secretary of Kansas State Historical Society, August 12, 1887, in "Thayer Collection."

24. *Report of the Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates From Kansas Aid Societies*, . . . (n. p., n. d.)

25. Webb to Pomeroy, at Washington, June 27, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books"; also in "Records of Exec. Comm." v. II, pp. 135-136. With the dissolution of the Aid Company in 1897 this claim, estimated at \$25,000, was bequeathed to the University of Kansas. No attempt has been made to secure a decision in the court of claims, the consensus of opinion being that it is legally untenable. However, the University of Kansas in 1897 petitioned the congress for payment of the claim.—See *A Memorial of the University of Kansas in Support of Senate Bill No. 2677* (Lawrence, 1897).

greatly strengthened the Free-State position and had "thrown our enemies higher than a kite. Let the legislature²⁶ meet on the 4th and adjourn for a few weeks," he added, and by then they could know what to expect from the government. ". . . By all means commit no aggressive act."²⁷

The same sentiment was expressed by Free-State leaders in the territory. An open letter "To the friends of 'Law and Order' convened at Topeka" dated "Camp, near Lecompton, . . . July 1," urged the Free-State men to "occupy a tenable position" and refrain from doing anything that would set the government and popular opinion against them. They had a legal right to organize a state government, said the writers, but there must be no resistance of federal officers in the performance of their duties. However, if an attempt should be made to arrest the members of the "state organization" merely because they were such, with a view to disabling it, then resistance became defense of the state organization and manifestly justifiable. Accordingly, they warned, no person against whom an indictment was pending should appear at the capitol. The signers of this document were Gov. Charles Robinson, Geo. W. Smith, Gaius Jenkins, Geo. W. Deitzler, Henry H. Williams, and John Brown, Jr. They themselves were absent from the session, they explained, because indictments were pending against them and they did not wish to involve their colleagues and supporters in difficulties with the law.²⁸

On July 3 Pomeroy was in Boston to attend a meeting of the Friends of Kansas in the rooms of the Aid Company, at No. 3 Winter street.²⁹ An attempt was to be made to give work to needy persons in the territory by beginning reconstruction of the Lawrence hotel promptly—if financial arrangements could be made. However, the meeting was very small and apparently was unsuccessful.

An adjourned meeting of the executive committee on July 8 voted to instruct Pomeroy to go to Washington again as soon as his engagements permitted "in order to look out for the interests of the company, and of Kansas." On his way he was to call on Gerrit Smith and other persons and from them to procure by stock sub-

26. The legislature elected January 15 under the Topeka constitution, which met at Topeka on March 4 and after an uneventful session adjourned to meet again on July 4, when it was dispersed—without resistance—by Col. E. V. Sumner and a detachment of United States troops.

27. W. Y. Roberts, lieutenant-governor of Kansas, to C. K. Holliday at Topeka, June 24, in "C. K. Holliday Collection." This letter is signed also by Pomeroy.

28. "Gen. James Blood Collection." The "Camp" was a Proslavery stronghold, and whether these men remained there for the reason stated or because they were unable to leave is not clear.

29. Cf., Webb to John Carter Brown, June 30; to Geo. A. Russell, June 30; to Eli Thayer, July 5; in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books."

scriptions, donations or loans, funds for the rebuilding of the Lawrence hotel and for the general objects of the company.³⁰

At a previous meeting, on July 2, the authority given Pomeroy on June 14 to draw for \$2,000 towards rebuilding the hotel had been rescinded. This action was taken because of lack of funds in the treasury,³¹ although Pomeroy himself was doing what he could to raise money. He had spoken at Canton, Ohio, on July 8 and succeeded in getting something over \$200,³² though such sums, of course, were negligible in comparison with the amount needed. It seems likely that the destruction at Lawrence on May 21, followed by "battles" and guerrilla warfare throughout the eastern section of the territory, was having a decidedly deleterious effect on the company's financial standing. Prospective investors were not inclined to risk their money under such circumstances, particularly since the Missourians had seriously disturbed immigration into the territory by way of the St. Louis-Kansas City route.³³ On June 26 Eli Thayer issued a statement at New York in which he tried to counteract unfavorable publicity by showing that the company was under no obligation to settlers once they had arrived in the territory, implying thereby that company stock was still a good investment.³⁴ However the result of this effort is at best doubtful.

In preparation for Pomeroy's return to Washington Amos A. Lawrence gave him a letter of introduction addressed to President Pierce. This letter seems an obvious attempt to impress the President, to "set the stage" for an anticipated interview. "Pomeroy," Lawrence wrote, "is a man well known in his own state [Massachusetts], where he always retained the respect of those who know him; and well known in Kansas, where he is much confided in by the settlers.³⁵ I know him personally to be in every way a reliable and estimable man." His Revolutionary ancestry, Lawrence continued, ensures against his having any love for oppression, "but he is no zealot, and will not state anything to you, if you should give him an interview, which he does not believe to be true."³⁶

30. "EAP," "Records of the Exec. Comm.," v. II, p. 145.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 142. Cf., Webb to Pomeroy, July 23: "What shall we do for money?" in "Webb Letter Books."

32. Webb to Patrick Jackson, treasurer of the Kansas Aid Fund, July 14, in *ibid.*

33. Cf., Gladstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-307; and letter of the Rev. Ephraim Nute, dated Lawrence, July 24, 1856, in "Kansas Territorial Clippings," v. 3, pp. 284, 285.

34. Thayer, "Doings of the Company," in "EAP."

35. Cf., Mrs. Hannah A. Ropes, *Six Months in Kansas*, pp. 199, 200: "Now [May? 1856] there arrives from the East . . . a man whom we all love and honor—to whom we all look, as to a sheet-anchor in a storm. General Pomeroy gives both warmth and light to the parlor of the miniature 'Cincinnati House.' He loves children—they know by intuition who does. . . ."

36. Lawrence to Pierce, July 12, in "EAP," "Lawrence Letters," p. 152.

This letter, with another of introduction to S. G. Haven, the manager of the Fillmore party, was sent to Pomeroy on July 12. Lawrence instructed him to try to convince Haven that the Topeka convention had not been a sudden mob outburst, but had been duly called and represented the real feeling in the territory. He told him also to "play up" the political advantage to the Fillmore party of advocacy of the Free-State cause. To the President, Lawrence said, he should play up the patriotic spirit. "I believe Mr. Pierce's father was in the battle of Bunker Hill. Perhaps you can bring that in to claim a kindred spirit in him. (The spirit is there, but sleeping a long sleep)." To both, Pomeroy was to play the rôle of a simple, honest pioneer. "Do not show to him [Pierce] or Mr. Haven your acquaintance with public men."³⁷

Pomeroy was delayed, probably in New York, and did not leave for Washington until some time after July 16.³⁸ For several days his whereabouts was unknown; as Webb wrote: "You are clearly constructed on the principle of the Paddy's flea, and consequently you are difficult to trace."³⁹ This delay, unavoidable or not, could not but be disheartening to the company officials. They were anxious that the pending homestead bill be pushed through in order to stimulate immigration to the territory, and they were equally desirous, in view of their financial situation, that the company's claims for property damages should be met promptly. W. Y. Roberts had informed Webb that these claims could be liquidated if they were pushed vigorously, because the administration, fearing that political capital might be made of them, was eager to get them from before the public and so would vote their payment.⁴⁰

A few days later Webb informed Pomeroy that news from Kansas was very discouraging. "On the whole I think our Territorial affairs are in a very critical condition and unless something is soon done to improve them all will go to ruin, and lead to a grand smash up."⁴¹ The attitude of the members of congress was also cause for the com-

37. Lawrence to Pomeroy, July 12, in *ibid.*, pp. 153-155. Cf., a letter of Lawrence dated August 13, cited in Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas—the Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston, 1885), pp. 195-196. It is difficult to explain Lawrence's motives in making these statements. The duplicity here demonstrated seems out of keeping with his character and his reputation for absolute honesty and sincerity. Perhaps they can be condoned on the ground of his devotion to the Free-State cause, but certainly for no other reasons.

38. Cf., Webb to the Rev. B. B. Newton, July 15; to Pomeroy at New York, July 16; in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books."

39. Webb to Pomeroy, July 21, in *ibid.*

40. Webb to Pomeroy, July 23, in *ibid.*

41. Webb to Pomeroy, July 29, in *ibid.* In this letter Webb also informed Pomeroy that no writ was out against him, and no personal danger was to be feared in the territory. The original indictment issued against the Free-State leaders in May and ordering their arrest for treason had contained Pomeroy's name, but it was later removed and that of Gaius Jenkins substituted. See Geo. W. Brown, *False Claims . . .*, pp. 12-13, in which Brown, who was one of those arrested, claims to have seen the indictment.

pany's regret. As Webb wrote, they were sorry to hear that the congressmen were such sticklers for party, and so reluctant to advocate a measure unless the "cordon of their own party" surrounded it. However, he urged Pomeroy to continue pushing the matter. "I rely little on the integrity of the members [of congress], but greatly on their political fears; and by working on these I think justice and humanity may yet come off triumphant. . . ."⁴²

Affairs continued unchanged throughout the month of August. Little was accomplished, and it seemed unlikely that anything would be gained by Pomeroy's continued stay in the East. Besides, the situation in the territory was now critical and he was anxious to return. "The recent developments there," he wrote, "convince me I should hasten my footsteps."⁴³

Pomeroy traveled overland to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, the end of the railroad. The Free-State party was using this point as a supply depot, since the usual route through Missouri was growing more and more difficult. Considerable propaganda was issued to persuade emigrants to use the northern route. Pomeroy had some part in this endeavor. The Chicago group, which was acting as a temporary central committee until the appointment of one at the Buffalo convention on July 9, had added him to its central oratorical committee. One function of this subcommittee was to minimize the difficulties of entry into Kansas and to propagandize for increased travel over the Iowa route.⁴⁴ A circular was issued on July 4 saying that Pomeroy, Lane, Reeder and others were working to turn emigration from the Missouri route to Iowa,⁴⁵ and by the end of the month Lane's "Army of the North" was moving into the territory from Nebraska City.⁴⁶

At Mt. Pleasant Pomeroy found "the nucleus of a party" waiting for an escort and leader into the territory, and he and S. W. Eldridge undertook to conduct them. Lane's party was two or three weeks ahead of them. When they reached Tabor, about three weeks after leaving Mt. Pleasant, they met Lane on his way out of

42. Webb to Pomeroy, July 31, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books." Cf., same to same, August 7, in *ibid.*

43. Pomeroy to T. W. Higginson, Boston, September 1, 1856, in "T. W. Higginson Collection."

44. Peter Page, of the Chicago committee, to Thaddeus Hyatt, July 6, in "Hyatt Collection."

45. Circular in "Wm. Barnes Papers." Cf., also, Wm. E. Connelley, "The Lane Trail," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, p. 268.

46. S. W. Eldridge, "Recollections . . .," loc. cit., pp. 81-83. Eldridge says that he and Pomeroy arrived at Topeka on August 11, acting as advance scouts for the "army," but Pomeroy did not leave New York until September 2. Cf., Webb to S. F. Lyman, of Northampton, Mass., September 8, 1856, in "Webb Letter Books."

the territory. Pomeroy wrote from Clark county, Iowa, on September 26, that three other parties were behind them and that they planned to meet at Tabor and enter Kansas together.⁴⁷

While the party was moving slowly south Robert Morrow had been sent ahead to interview the new governor of the territory, John W. Geary, and learn whether the parties would be allowed to enter peaceably. Lane had advised them to give Geary a fair trial before committing any hostile act. Morrow secured an open letter from the governor in which he said that he welcomed the accession of peaceful and bona fide immigrants into the territory, and requested that the citizens of the territory welcome such persons and give them shelter and protection. Also, he said, if the party came without threats or hostile attitude all military officers in the territory were to give them safe conduct and permit them to pass without interruption.⁴⁸

However, on October 10 as the party crossed the northern line of the territory they were stopped by Wm. J. Preston, the deputy United States marshal, and Lt. Col. P. St. George Cooke of Fort Leavenworth. The marshal produced the governor's order of September 10 requiring the search of incoming parties for arms and ammunition and proceeded to carry out these orders. A large number of muskets and carbines were found, besides revolvers, sabres, ammunition, saddles and similar materials of war, but "*none of the ordinary baggage of emigrants.*" Preston recognized several of the party as Lane men. It was decided that they were an armed party and consequently they were arrested and taken to the governor. Cooke commented: "I found the Deputy Marshal and some others very much staggered by the Governor's letter as to Eldridge's party, of September 30, which was produced. . . ."⁴⁹

Pomeroy's own story, which is not corroborated by Geary's report to Secretary of State Marcy⁵⁰ nor by other official accounts, is that when they camped for the night he secured Cooke's permission to go on alone to see Geary at Lecompton. He reached the governor next day, having picked up an escort of several members of the

47. Mentioned in a letter from Webb to Hyatt, October 8, in *ibid.*, and in "Hyatt Collection."

48. "Correspondence of Governor Geary," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, p. 513. The letter is dated Lecompton, September 30, 1856. On the same day Geary wrote to Wm. L. Marcy, secretary of state, that "peace now reigns in Kansas. . . ."—Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, p. 192.

49. Cooke to Maj. F. J. Porter, assistant adjutant general at Fort Leavenworth, October 10, in "Correspondence of Governor Geary," *loc. cit.*, p. 516. Cf., also, "Executive Minutes of Gov. John W. Geary," in *ibid.*, pp. 583-590, 607-611, and *passim*.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 583.

"Stubbs," a military company of Lawrence young men. The interview with Geary took place in a small log cabin guarded by soldiers, and no third party was present. The governor consented to ride to Topeka with Pomeroy, dismiss the army, and allow the party to settle. On the way to Topeka they discussed the situation. All that Geary wanted was peace so the Democrats would not lose the election. He would allow the Free-State men to triumph if they would keep the peace. Pomeroy answered that peace for them meant triumph. Geary kept his promise and dismissed the soldiers, the Missouri river was opened again, and eventually all the Free-State men held prisoners were pardoned. The Proslavery faction was enraged and threatened Geary's life, and eventually—in March, 1857—he resigned and went down the river like Reeder and Shannon before him, fearing assassination. Nevertheless he thought the struggle was virtually over.⁵¹

In the comparative calm that settled on the territory in the fall of 1856 the Emigrant Aid Company saw an opportunity to pause and consider its situation. What it saw could not be anything but discouraging. The treasury was almost empty and funds available in the Northern states were going to the various relief committees instead of to the company for stock subscriptions. Investors had been frightened by the destruction of property in the territory,⁵² and in truth it seemed unlikely that the company could show a profit on its business transactions. Further, conditions were still unsettled and the Missourians, according to reports, were likely to attack again at any moment.⁵³ The political uncertainty due to the forthcoming presidential election only added to the confusion.

One of the first steps taken by the executive committee was to instruct its agents no longer to meddle in politics or other local concerns, but to devote themselves exclusively to company affairs. Their first duty should be to prepare and forward a detailed statement of accounts and a full and accurate statement of the condition of every item of the company's property in Kansas. The executive committee desired to be informed also of the precise terms of all existing contracts and ordered that no new ones requiring payment of money by the company should be made without previous author-

51. Pomeroy, "Reminiscences," pp. 125-128.

52. A commission of claims established in February, 1859, to determine the extent of the damage concluded that the total loss and destruction from November 1, 1855, to December 1, 1856, was not less than \$2,000,000, at least half of which was sustained by the "*bona fide*" citizens of Kansas.—*Report of Commissioners of Claims*, dated July 11, 1859, in "Kansas History Pamphlets," v. III, Pt. I, "Territory."

53. W. F. M. Arny, general agent of the National Kansas Committee, to Thaddeus Hyatt, October 7; same to same, October 23; in "Hyatt Collection." Same to Wm. Barnes, October 23, in "Barnes Papers." J. M. Winchell to Hyatt, October 27, in "Hyatt Collection."

ization from Boston. "You will endeavor to introduce a greater economy into the management of the company's affairs in the territory. . . . You will forward letters of information to the secretary regularly on the 1st and 15th of each month, and as much oftener as may be found advisable."⁵⁴

Another letter of the same date ordered Charles Branscomb to go to Lawrence immediately and consult with Pomeroy regarding company business, especially in the matter of prompt rebuilding of the hotel.⁵⁵ Two days later, on October 3, the executive committee voted to revoke the authority granted Pomeroy on April 28, 1855, to make private investments in the territory,⁵⁶ and on October 4 Webb wrote to remind him that his contract with the company required him to make formal statements of his accounts at quarterly intervals, or oftener if requested. The executive committee, Webb said, realized that unsettled conditions during the past year had made such careful bookkeeping impossible, but that since comparative quiet now prevailed they expected both him and Branscomb to fulfill this obligation to the letter.⁵⁷

At the meeting of October 3, also, the executive committee accepted Charles Robinson's resignation as general agent and requested him to turn over to Pomeroy all books, papers and business matters of the company. Although no conclusive evidence can be cited it seems clear that Robinson had never been entirely satisfied with his position in the company. He was called the "general agent," but the title apparently meant merely "resident agent" in the territory, a term which was also used, though infrequently, to describe his office. He seems to have been the company's local political representative and the very fact that he was a powerful figure in local politics must have made him dissatisfied to be subservient to Pomeroy in business matters.

Perhaps because of his broad and rather vague title, and because of the publicity written by and about him, Robinson has been considered the chief agent in the territory. Certainly he figures more largely in contemporaneous accounts than does Pomeroy. Yet there can be little doubt of his inferior status in the eyes of the company, or of his own jealousy of Pomeroy. For example, Secretary Webb

54. L. B. Russell and C. J. Higginson, for the executive committee, to Pomeroy and Charles Branscomb, October 1, 1856, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books." Cf., Webb to Pomeroy, August 11, and Higginson to Branscomb, August 15, in *ibid.*

55. Russell and Higginson to Branscomb, October 1, in *ibid.*

56. "EAP," "Records of the Exec. Comm.," v. II, p. 177. Webb to Pomeroy, October 7, in "Webb Letter Books."

57. Webb to Pomeroy, October 4, in *ibid.*

on one occasion specifically mentions Pomeroy as "our principal Kansas Ag't."⁵⁸ Furthermore, the unusual terms of Pomeroy's contract clearly indicate that it was to be his responsibility to show a profit for the company, for he received ten percent in commissions on the net profits on sales and rents. On the other hand Robinson received two and one half percent "on all sales and receipts," as did Charles Branscomb, then the least important of the three agents. Whatever the actual commissions may have been—and because of the company's poor bookkeeping it is impossible to tell—it seems unlikely that Pomeroy alone would have been given a contract based on net returns had the intention not been to make him the responsible representative. This premise in itself is not, of course, conclusive proof of anything, but coupled with the correspondence of the years 1854-1856 tends definitely to the impression that Pomeroy, and not Robinson, was the man upon whom the company chiefly relied in its business undertakings. That Robinson was aware of this and that he was not reconciled to the situation is made clear by examination of the correspondence addressed to him from Boston. For example, Secretary Webb wrote to him in August to appease his jealousy of Pomeroy and to tell him that he was still "one of the principal agents" of the company. Some persons, Webb said, were maliciously inclined to make difficulties between Robinson and Pomeroy, but Pomeroy "has always spoken in the most kindly manner of you to the [executive] committee; and he has manifested by his deeds, as well as by his words, the sincerity of his friendship. . . ."⁵⁹

Details of company transactions, too, indicate that Pomeroy was considered Robinson's superior, at least in financial matters. On January 26, 1856, for example, he was authorized by the executive committee to consider Robinson's plan to purchase some steamboat boilers and to act upon it at his discretion. On March 1 of the same year he was requested to draw up instructions for emigrants and to prepare a map of the route to the settlements in Kansas, a chore that might well have been left to the supposedly more general functions of Robinson's office. Finally, the fact that no general agent was appointed to succeed Robinson is conclusive proof that the office was not essential to the company's operations.⁶⁰

58. Webb to N. P. Banks, January 29, 1856, in *ibid.*

59. Webb to Robinson, August 18, 1856, in *ibid.* Cf., also, Webb to Harlan Page, Jr., December 15 and 20, 1856.—*Ibid.*

60. Webb to Pomeroy, April 14, 1856, in *ibid.* The appointment of Martin F. Conway as general agent in 1858 was part of a reorganization of agencies, and the duties assigned differed from those earlier assigned to Robinson.

This is not to minimize the value of Robinson's work for the Emigrant Aid Company. Nevertheless it seems clear that his position in the company must be considered in a new and definitely less important light. Virtually every fact and every implication obtained from study of the company records goes to prove that Pomeroy was the more consequential agent, and this in turn means that to Pomeroy must go a proportionate share of the blame for the company's unsuccessful business and financial career.

Business letters during the last weeks of 1856 had largely to do with financial details. Pomeroy sent an itemized list of the company's town lots in Topeka, sold the "large mill," arranged to sell the Kansas City hotel, leased the mill at Manhattan, probably in exchange for an interest in the townsite, and settled Robinson's account with the company.⁶¹ These activities were highly satisfactory to the executive committee, but still he had made no accounting of his finances. On December 8, L. B. Russell and C. J. Higginson, for the committee, requested him to forward immediately a statement of his account to September 1, 1856. The balance to his debit on that date, they wrote, was \$27,759.44, and the treasurer had received no statement from him since September 1, 1855.⁶²

However, by the middle of December the company's position was somewhat easier, thanks largely to the efforts of Eli Thayer. Webb spoke optimistically of an expected large spring emigration and suggested that Pomeroy lose no time in selecting town sites where the new-comers might settle.⁶³ Two weeks later the secretary was so cheered by developments that he remarked, "Our cause has at no time looked more encouraging than it at present does."⁶⁴

But in January, 1857, depression struck again. Webb wrote that the committee was surprised to learn that payments due the company for the Kansas City hotel had not been received and expected Pomeroy to take steps to secure a prompt settlement. They re-

61. Webb to Harlan Page, Jr., of Lawrence, November 8 and 14, December 3 and 15, in "Webb Letter Books." The identity of Harlan Page is an unsolved mystery. These letters are obviously intended for Pomeroy. Either the name was a pseudonym used by Pomeroy for reasons now unknown, or Pomeroy's mail was sent in care of Page to prevent its interception by other parties. However, there is no record of a Harlan Page then living at Lawrence, and there seems no good reason for the employment of such a subterfuge since other letters were addressed directly to Pomeroy by Webb and various correspondents. Cf., Webb to Chas. H. Branscomb, December 31, 1856: Pomeroy complained that he received no letters from Webb, and the secretary could not understand this. "Ask him if he remembers Harlan Page, Jr." Also, Webb to Pomeroy, February 12, 1857, in *ibid.*

62. *Ibid.* No record has been found to show that Pomeroy complied with this request.

63. The boot, shoe and leather dealers of Boston had subscribed \$20,000 in return for which they asked the privilege of naming two towns in the territory. Rather than establish new towns, Pomeroy arranged for a change of name by two towns already founded. Webb to Pomeroy and Branscomb, December 13, in *ibid.* Same to Harlan Page, Jr., December 15—*ibid.* See, also, Russell K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, No. 3 (August, 1935), pp. 251-254.

64. Webb to S. N. Hartwell of Spencer, Mass., December 31, 1856, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books." Also same to Pomeroy, December 20, in *ibid.*

gretted also that unauthorized drafts had been made on the treasurer. Webb continued:

It is daily more apparent that the Committee should be informed of the entire indebtedness of the Company within the Territory; it already greatly exceeds what the Committee and you estimated it, when you last met with them; and as yet there seems no limit to its continued increase. Until the bottom line is actually ascertained no additional investments can safely be made.⁶⁵

Pomeroy still had not furnished an adequate financial report and now was peremptorily ordered to drop all other business and devote his time for the next fifteen days entirely to the task of supplying the executive committee with a detailed history of past expenditures.⁶⁶ Apparently Pomeroy did not obey these instructions for Webb wrote on February 12 that matters were still unsatisfactory. The report had reached him, he said, that Pomeroy had a financial interest in the town of Quindaro and that while Robinson was away Pomeroy had looked after his interests too.⁶⁷ They had learned also that Pomeroy was active in church affairs there. All this was a great surprise to the members of the executive committee, especially since it appeared that he had not yet found time to place the company's affairs in a satisfactory condition.⁶⁸ In the same letter Pomeroy was ordered to sell the company's ten shares of stock in the Quindaro company, if he could get an advance for them on the cost price. This order was opposed to Pomeroy's desires and his personal interest, for he had earlier written to ask the committee's advice in regard to locating his office at Quindaro.⁶⁹

The executive committee at its meeting on February 20 decided that Pomeroy must be asked to come East immediately, bringing with him all his records, in order that financial matters might be straightened out at once.⁷⁰ He arrived about March 6,⁷¹ and was present at an adjourned meeting of the committee on the ninth at which he answered questions relating to the company's business

65. Webb to Pomeroy, January 14, 1857, in *ibid.* A letter similar in tone was addressed to Branscomb on January 26.

66. C. J. Higginson to Pomeroy, January 26, in *ibid.*

67. Cf., Geo. W. Veale, "Coming In and Going Out," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XI, p. 6. The report probably was correct although no substantiation of it has been discovered by the writer.

68. Webb to Pomeroy, February 12, in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books."

69. Letter from Pomeroy, dated January 22, read at executive committee meeting on February 13, in "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. III, p. 42. Details of the company's entrance into Quindaro are lacking.

70. Webb to Pomeroy, February 23, in "Webb Letter Books." C. J. Higginson and L. B. Russell, for the executive committee, to Charles Branscomb, February 23, in *ibid.*, and in "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. III, pp. 55-56. Branscomb was to take Pomeroy's place during his absence.

71. Webb to Nicholas Brown, March 3; to Willis Brown, March 11; in "EAP," "Webb Letter Books."

affairs in the territory. He was then ordered to go back to Kansas at once, returning to Boston by May 10 with all the necessary books and papers. In the territory he was to collect what debts he could for the company and was to expend for all purposes not more than \$3,000.⁷²

On his return to Kansas Pomeroy concluded one of the most significant business investments made by the company during the year. The executive committee, at the meeting on March 9, had authorized him to establish a town on the Missouri river at a cost of not more than \$6,000.⁷³ Pomeroy decided that the most likely location was the already thriving town of Atchison, a Proslavery stronghold. He made a bargain with Robert McBratney, the agent of the Cincinnati emigration society which already had arranged a controlling interest there, whereby the Emigrant Aid Company took over a large interest in the town in return for a considerable cash outlay and a promise to make further investments. Pomeroy said that McBratney had made preliminary arrangements to purchase half the town site, as well as the *Squatter Sovereign*, the local newspaper which hitherto had been rabidly Proslavery in policy. Peter T. Abell, president of the town company, had bound himself in writing to buy and turn over to McBratney and his associates at least 51 of the original 100 shares, at a cost of from \$400 to \$800 each, the newspaper to cost an additional \$1,500. Part of the original 100 shares, Pomeroy explained, were already in the hands of Free-State men, so that 51 from the Proslavery side would enable the Free Staters to control the town. When McBratney presented the case to him, he objected to taking part unless more favorable prices and terms could be secured, but nevertheless told McBratney to go ahead and close the bargain if he could secure 160 acres more as an addition to the town site for a "reasonable" sum, 600 acres of heavy timber land opposite the town on the Missouri side of the river at \$10 an acre, and 200 more lots, representing twenty more shares, at \$10 per lot.⁷⁴

This agreement, of course, far exceeded the cost specified by the company. In fact, although an expenditure of not more than \$6,000 had been authorized, and Pomeroy had written that he did not intend to make any drafts on the treasurer, the agreement called for a down payment of \$11,000, an equal amount in about six months,

72. Webb to Pomeroy, March 17, in *ibid.* The date of his return was later extended to May 17.

73. "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. III, pp. 69-70.

74. Pomeroy to the executive committee, dated at St. Joseph, Mo., April 10, 1857, in *ibid.*, pp. 110-112. Cf., Lawrence *Republican*, August 6, 1857.

and an obligation on the part of himself and new settlers to spend about \$50,000 in developing the town. Pomeroy was extremely enthusiastic about the site, calling it the best he had seen in Kansas, and said he would have bought a larger interest if he had known how to pay for it. As it was, the purchase when finally completed did include a controlling interest in the town and ownership of the *Squatter Sovereign*. Evidently Pomeroy made the arrangement on his own responsibility, for he wrote that the company might take all or any part of the interest he had secured.⁷⁵

Pomeroy arrived in Boston for his second visit of the year on May 15, 1857, and was present at the meeting of the executive committee on that day. He made a detailed statement of his purchases for the company and for himself at Atchison.⁷⁶ Apparently his actions were approved, even though the cost of the venture so greatly exceeded the specifications laid down by the committee, and despite the fact that the company's balance on hand was only about \$10,000. Speaking at the third annual meeting of the company on May 26, Pomeroy gave many particulars relating to conditions at the settlements in the territory and many assurances of a triumphant accomplishment in the near future.⁷⁷ At the meeting of the executive committee on May 29 the question of renaming the town was discussed and "Pomeroy" was the committee's second preference.⁷⁸

Following instructions from the executive committee Pomeroy left for Kansas on June 3. A reassignment of duties had been arranged and hereafter Pomeroy was in complete charge of company matters at Atchison, Quindaro and Kansas City, while Branscomb was in control at Lawrence, Topeka and Manhattan.⁷⁹

From this time until the following August little of interest occurred so far as the Aid Company was concerned. In the territory

75. Pomeroy to executive committee, April 10, 11, and 18, in "Records of Exec. Comm." v. III, pp. 109-112, 117-121. Webb to C. J. Higginson in Lawrence, May 1, in "Webb Letter Books." Letters from Higginson, April 26 and May 4, in "Records of Exec. Comm." v. III, pp. 127-129, 133-136. Cf. "Atchison Globe," December 3, 1909. A contract drawn in manuscript, dated February 11, 1858, and signed by O. F. Short, in the manuscript vault of the Kansas State Historical Society, throws an interesting sidelight on the sale of the newspaper. Short sold the *Squatter Sovereign* to John A. Martin for \$2,000, \$300 of which was "to me in hand paid," and the remaining \$1,700 was to be paid by Martin to Pomeroy, "according to my contract with him. . . ." This refers to Short's previous purchase of the paper from Pomeroy. The contract implies that Martin was to be financed in his purchase either by Pomeroy personally or by the Emigrant Aid Company until the \$1,700 was paid, since he was to take possession from February 15, 1858, and no date of payment was specified.

76. "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm." v. III, p. 181.

77. "EAP," "Records of Annual Meetings."

78. "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm." v. III, p. 156. First choice of the committee was "Wilmot," doubtless in honor of the author of the Wilmot Proviso, but neither name was adopted.

79. C. J. Higginson, for the executive committee, to Pomeroy, June 1; and to Branscomb, June 3; in "Webb Letter Books."

there was excitement over the election of delegates to the constitutional convention which met at Lecompton on September 7, and Free-State political maneuvering was later the chief topic. Pomeroy took an active part in this campaigning and in the Grasshopper Falls convention on August 26, which voted to participate in the October election of a territorial legislature.

Toward the end of September Pomeroy left on another Eastern trip and was present at meetings of the executive committee on October 30 and November 7. At the latter meeting his contract with the company was renewed for another six months, at the same figure of \$1,000 a year. It was specified that "Mr. Pomeroy is at liberty to pursue business on his own account provided his so doing will not interfere with the business of the Company."⁸⁰

Pomeroy, however, reconsidered almost immediately and decided to resign his agency, effective at once or as soon as the executive committee considered advisable for the interests of the company.⁸¹ The committee after discussing the matter at its meeting on November 17 agreed to accept the resignation effective March 1, 1858, and voted Pomeroy their unanimous thanks for his "long and valuable" services.⁸² Subsequently he was appointed local agent at Atchison and he continued in charge of local business in Kansas City as well as furnishing occasional assistance in other matters until 1860.⁸³

Upon his return to Kansas in December, 1857, he plunged again into local politics and thereafter concentrated his efforts on his personal advancement, financial and political.

During all this time his relations with the Aid Company were friendly. The executive committee apparently found fault only with his carelessness in bookkeeping and his tardiness in forwarding statements of his accounts. These faults were old ones, and while they were in no way creditable to him as a business agent, neither can they be taken as definitive evidence of dishonesty or even of laziness. In the early years, especially from 1854 to 1856, the conditions

80. Ruth P. Boscom, *Memoir of Mrs. Lucy Gaylord Pomeroy* (New York, 1865), pp. 122-123. Mrs. Boscom was Pomeroy's sister. Also T. J. Marsh to Geo. L. Stearns, September 28, in "Stearns Collection," Copy of contract with Pomeroy, in Webb's handwriting, dated November 7, 1857, in "EAP," correspondence.

81. Pomeroy to Dr. S. Cabot, Jr., of the executive committee, November 14, 1857, in "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. III, pp. 225-226.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 227. Branscomb's resignation was accepted at the same meeting. It was offered unwillingly, at the request of the committee, and Pomeroy is said to have resigned because he sympathized with Branscomb. Cf., Webb to Branscomb, November 18, and to Pomeroy, November 20, in "Webb Letter Books." Also Webb to M. F. Conway, the new general agent, April 27, 1858, in which he intimates that the company was decidedly dissatisfied with Branscomb but mentions no evidence of such feeling toward Pomeroy.

83. Cf., M. Brimmer of the executive committee, to Conway, February 8, 1858, in *ibid.* Conway to Webb, March 7, in "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. IV, pp. 87-88.

under which he worked made careful bookkeeping impossible, and subsequently his increasing preoccupation with his own affairs accounted for his failure to give sufficient time to company matters.

The extent of his interest in Atchison was considerable and was probably responsible for his enthusiasm and his generosity in investing both for the company and for himself. The town had been incorporated by the territorial legislature in February, 1858, and a special election was held on March 13 to elect temporary city officers. Pomeroy was chosen mayor to serve until the regular election in September, when he was reelected. He was also president of the Atchison branch of the Kansas Valley Bank, which began business in February, 1858,⁸⁴ and was president of the Atchison and St. Joseph Railroad, a small company formed to build a twenty-mile extension of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and so give Atchison a railroad connection with the East. The Atchison city council voted on March 29 to subscribe for \$100,000 of stock in any railroad serving this purpose⁸⁵ and appointed Mayor Pomeroy to act as its agent in the transaction. It was not coincidence, then, that led Pomeroy and his fellow directors of the railroad to vote on April 6 to receive bids on construction work.⁸⁶ The condition of the town generally was prosperous and prospects were bright. Conway, the Aid Company's general agent, spoke very favorably of it and advised the executive committee to hold its town lots there, and to make further investments if possible, in expectation of a speedy increase in real estate values.⁸⁷

Pomeroy was incurably optimistic in business matters. He believed sincerely in the future of Kansas and the good fortune bound to accrue to anyone owning property there. He was constantly looking for new investments and recommending them to the Aid Company. This characteristic alone tended, from 1857 on, to make him an unsatisfactory agent. He seemed unable to realize that the panic of 1857 was playing havoc with business, particularly in the field of investment. Despite constant reference in letters from the East to the tightness of money there, he could not understand that the company was obliged to inaugurate a policy of retrenchment

84. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 380. See the bank's advertisements in various numbers of *Freedom's Champion* during this time.

85. *Freedom's Champion*, April 3, 1858.

86. *Ibid.*, issues of April and May, carry advertising to this effect. See, also, editorial in issue of April 10.

87. Conway to Webb, March 7, 1858, in "EAP," "Records of Exec. Comm.," v. IV, p.

88. Conway's appointment as general agent had been voted at the meeting on February 5, and was accepted by him in a letter of February 21, 1858.—*Ibid.*, pp. 55-56, 83.

and consolidation.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the company was no longer interested in Kansas as it had been in the earlier years. The executive committee considered that the crisis in the territory had been safely passed. The Kansas struggle was over, Northern investors were turning to other enterprises, and the company itself was struggling to wind up its affairs and withdraw.

Pomeroy himself was identified with Kansas for the greater part of his life. His interests there were selfish, it is true, though in no greater degree than might be expected in any man desirous of worldly place and fortune. Eventually his ambitions led him into devious bypaths and ultimately caused his downfall, but in the period of his agency with the New England Emigrant Aid Company they were directed toward the defeat of slavery and the victory of the Free-State movement. In 1858 this was accomplished, the company was no longer dependent upon him, and he could well turn to the satisfaction of his own ends.

88. Cf., Hickman, *loc. cit.*, pp. 256-257, 262.

Removal of the Osages from Kansas

(Concluded)

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

A N ARTICLE preceding this one explained how the Osages in 1870 agreed to sell their lands in southern Kansas and to remove to Indian territory. Attention was given to the controversy between them and the Cherokees as to whether the Osages should be permitted to settle on Cherokee lands east of the ninety-sixth meridian, and to the decision of Sec. Columbus Delano in 1871 that the Osages were not civilized Indians, and hence could not settle east of that line. This article explains how the ninety-sixth meridian caused commotion among the Osages and Cherokees, how President Grant settled the disputed price of lands, and how the Osages removed to a reservation on the southern border of Kansas.

The Osages, in face of Delano's decision, reluctantly made a second selection of Cherokee lands for a reservation, comprising a rectangular tract of country buttressed against the ninety-sixth meridian, extending from the south line of Kansas to the Creek country, and running thence west for quantity.⁵⁹ The quantity should be determined by allowing one hundred and sixty acres for each Osage settled on the lands. The Osages were willing to pay but twenty-five cents per acre for the tract, while the Cherokees were unwilling to part with the same for a less price than one dollar and a quarter an acre. On March 7 Acting Commissioner Clum recommended that the tract be set apart for the use and occupation of the Osages; he suggested that the President be requested to approve their selection, fix the price to be paid therefor at twenty-five cents per acre, and that an executive order be issued announcing the same.⁶⁰ Commissioner Parker on March 15 withdrew the recommendation that the price of the lands be fixed at twenty-five cents per acre and recommended that two or more members of the board of Indian commissioners be instructed to visit the tract selected by the Osages, and make a report to the Interior Department on the real nature and value of the lands, and the price the Osages should pay for them.⁶¹ Secretary Delano observed, however, that members of the said board had already visited and reported upon the tract, and that it was the duty of the President under existing circum-

59. Gibson to Parker, March 6, 1871, OIA (Office of Indian Affairs), Neosho, G. 66—1871.

60. Clum to Delano, March 7, 1871, OIA, "Report Book 20," p. 252.

61. Parker to Delano, March 15, 1871, *ibid.*, pp. 277-279.

stances to fix its value. By an executive order of March 27 he assigned and set off to the Osages the tract recently selected by them, specifying the area of the same as 560,000 acres.⁶² The tract was about 14½ miles wide. Delano promptly recommended that the price of the lands be fixed at fifty cents an acre; and by an executive order of May 27 President Grant fixed the price accordingly.⁶³

In a communication of June 10 the Cherokee delegation in Washington protested against the price fixed by the President, claiming that it was far below the real value of the lands, and that such pricing was not in accordance with the spirit and intent of the Cherokee treaty of 1866 and other treaties affecting the lands.⁶⁴ In response to a similiar protest presented to the Interior Department a month later by the delegation, Commissioner Parker said that he deemed the price of fifty cents an acre to be not only a fair, but an exceedingly liberal compensation to the Cherokees for the lands to be occupied by the Osages.⁶⁵ It thus appeared that the Osages had secured a reservation at the price named in the instructions to the commission sent to negotiate with them in the summer of 1870.

We may now direct our attention to a matter that disturbed the Cherokees, vexed and discouraged the Osages, and caused the executive order reservation for the latter tribe to fade from the map of Indian territory during the year after its establishment. That matter was the location of the ninety-sixth meridian through the Cherokee country. On December 3, 1870, Com. Joseph S. Wilson of the General Land Office made a contract with Theodore H. Barrett and Ehud N. Darling, employing them to survey and subdivide certain lands in Indian territory, extend the Indian meridian from the Canadian river to Kansas, and also determine, establish and survey the ninety-sixth meridian through the Cherokee lands. It was provided that the surveying should be completed on or before December 31, 1871. According to the contract Barrett and Darling should be subject to any special or general orders which the Secretary of the Interior might see proper to give in the premises.⁶⁶ On March 18 Commissioner Parker recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that the General Land Office be directed to instruct them to run the line of the ninety-sixth meridian at once, in order

62. Delano to Com. Ind. Aff., March 27, 1871, OIA, "Executive Order File."

63. Delano to the President, March 27, 1871, *ibid.*, May 27, 1871. President Grant's approval is written on the back of the letter.

64. W. P. Adair and C. N. Vann to Com. E. S. Parker, June 10, 1871. A copy of the letter is filed in OIA, Ind. Div., under date of June 28, 1871.

65. Parker to Act. Sec. Int., July 11, 1871, "Rept. Book 20," pp. 409-411.

66. The contract is in G. L. O., "Special Surveys," Bundle 4.

that the lands west of the line could be properly evaluated.⁶⁷ Ten days later the surveyors were instructed accordingly, it being observed that the line should be determined in order that the Indian agency buildings might be properly located.⁶⁸

On March 27 the executive order reservation was established. But the most desirable portion of it, a strip along the eastern side "in a string shape," was already occupied by about one hundred and fifty families of Cherokees, Delawares and Shawnees who believed they were living east of the ninety-sixth meridian, and who protested against the occupation of the land by the Osages. Agent Gibson had confidence in the correctness of the special survey of the line and he urged the Osages to make improvements on the strip. In erecting temporary buildings the Osages had frequently to abandon their work to avoid a conflict with the Cherokees, who resisted the necessary appropriation of timber. Early in the spring Gibson assured the Osages that the line of the ninety-sixth meridian would be located without further delay, because the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had given him an unqualified promise that it would be. By the time the planting season arrived the chiefs protested against further improvements being made at the agency because the line had not been run. The Osages were "rendered exceedingly dissatisfied" by the uncertainty of the location of the line.⁶⁹

On April 15 Barrett reported to the General Land Office that steps preparatory to the survey of the line had been taken; and that the work would be executed with promptness, due regard being had to its being correctly determined astronomically.⁷⁰ "It is expected that the survey of the line in question will be made this month," the Office of Indian Affairs advised Superintendent Hoag on June 5, "and the difficulties and disputes attending the present uncertainty of its location will be set at rest."⁷¹ Astronomical observations for the initial point were made in that month and in July. Many complaints and suggestions from Hoag and Gibson, relative to the survey of the line, reached the Office of Indian Affairs during the spring and summer.

On August 28 the General Land Office instructed Barrett and Darling to report at once when the survey of the line would be

67. Parker to Delano, March 18, 1871, OIA, "Rept. Book 20," p. 281.

68. Commissioner Drummond to Barrett and Darling, March 28, 1871, G. L. O., *Survey Gen.*, v. 25, p. 34.

69. Hoag to Act. Com. Clum, October 5, 1871, *Indian Affairs*, 1871, p. 464; same to same, August 22, 1871, OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 688—1871.

70. Barrett to Drummond, April 15, 1871, G. L. O., I. No. 45,187.

71. Clum to Hoag, June 5, 1871, OIA, (Large) "Letter Book 102," pp. 227-228.

completed. "If no progress has been made you are required to use all diligence towards the completion of the same," said Com. Willis Drummond, "as important interests are involved and now delayed waiting the establishment of said line."⁷² On September 7 Barrett replied that a surveying party under the direction of Darling was then in the field for the purpose of establishing and marking the line.⁷³ Agent Gibson reported on October 1 that if the official survey proved the narrow strip of tillable land in dispute to be east of the ninety-sixth meridian as the Cherokees contended it was, the land assigned to the Osages would be quickly abandoned by them, as they would probably not accept it as a gift for a future home.⁷⁴ Before the close of the month it was known by the said survey that the strip in question, "containing in fact all the improvements made and all the really available land in the whole body" intended to be included in the executive order reservation assigned to the Osages, was east of the ninety-sixth meridian.⁷⁵

On October 26, just a year after the Osages selected the first tract of country in the Indian territory, Hoag informed the Office of Indian Affairs that the ninety-sixth meridian was about three and one half miles west of the line designated by the special survey.⁷⁶ He stated that the "calamity" of throwing the Osages "into the Bluffs," added to lingering prejudices, had made their condition insufferable. He said that the Osages had become demoralized and would return to the plains with increased aggravation; and that he feared they would return to their former habits of plunder⁷⁷ unless the Interior Department took some immediate and decisive steps to redress their wrongs. He explained that they would not accede to the conditions of the act of July 15, 1870, providing for the sale of their lands in Kansas and the purchase of lands from the Cherokees, until the

72. Drummond to Barrett and Darling, August 28, 1871, G. L. O., *Survey Gen.*, v. 25, p. 263.

73. Barrett to Drummond, September 7, 1871, G. L. O., I, No. 63,690.

74. Gibson to Hoag, October 1, 1871, *Indian Affairs, 1871*, pp. 490-491. See, also, a similar statement in Hoag to Act. Com. Ind. Aff., October 5, 1871, *ibid.*, p. 465.

75. Com. F. A. Walker to Sec. Int., November 1, 1872, *ibid.*, 1872, p. 40. In regard to the improvements made by the Osages on the strip, see Gibson to Hoag, October 1, 1871, *loc. cit.*

76. Hoag to Act. Com. Clum, October 26, 1871. The letter is marked "Neosho, H. 833—1871," but is filed in OIA, Ind. Div., under date of November 3, 1871. The ninety-sixth meridian was about 3.2 miles west of the line designated by the special survey; and the length of the executive order reservation assigned to the Osages was 59 miles, 68.53 chains. It was found that the Caney river flows east across the ninety-sixth meridian about eight miles south of Kansas, and that for about fifteen miles from that point due south the valley of the stream is just east of the said meridian.

77. In a letter of October 16, 1871, Gibson informed Hoag that the Osages in conjunction with other Plains Indians had determined that they would stop the destruction of the buffalo by hunting parties of white men. There is a copy of the letter in OIA, Cent. Supt., H. 825—1871.

Caney Valley was by the special survey located west of the ninety-sixth meridian. Hoag continued:

That valley was [a] condition to their acceptance. That survey so located their Eastern boundary. Now the official survey throws it all off, to the Cherokees. Our last year labor in improvements is lost, and our future prospect for immediate usefulness is blasted, unless we at once remedy this misfortune. The Osages now feel that the Commissioners, Agent and Supt. who have advised their removal, did so to defraud them of both their old and new homes. . . . The question of their civilization is off [of] too high importance to lie another year on the contingency of running a line that might and should have been done in 30 days.

On November 3 Acting Commissioner Clum recommended that immediate measures be taken to remedy, so far as practicable, a state of affairs, likely to be productive of such evil results as those mentioned in Hoag's letter of October 26. He said there appeared to be two alternatives. First, to have one or more members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, or some other suitable person, proceed to the Cherokee country to negotiate with the proper authorities of the Cherokee nation for the retention upon reasonable terms, by the Osages, of that portion of the tract of country supposed to have been included within the limits of the reservation set apart for them, but which was found actually to be east of the ninety-sixth meridian. Second, to provide a new reservation for the Osages in the portion of the Cherokee territory bordering upon the Creek country and lying to the west of the ninety-sixth meridian. He stated that the latter alternative would by no means be entirely satisfactory to the Osages and should only be entertained after every effort had been made for the success of the first proposition, without avail.⁷⁸

The next day Secretary Delano approved the suggestions embraced in the first alternative set forth by Clum, and designated Thomas Wistar and John B. Garrett of Philadelphia, and George Howland of New Bedford, Mass., as a commission to open negotiations with the Cherokees accordingly. Delano stated that if the commission should not succeed in negotiating with them for the continued possession by the Osages, of the lands they occupied, then, he desired that the attention of the commission be directed to the necessity of their making an examination of the country for the purpose of selecting a new reservation for the Osages.⁷⁹ Instructions

78. Clum to Secretary Delano, November 3, 1871, OIA, "Rpt. Book 21," pp. 64-65.

79. Delano to Clum, November 4, 1871, OIA, "Record of Letters Sent," No. 11, pp. 114-115. Garrett accepted the appointment, but apparently took no part in the work of the commission.

were promptly issued to the commission stating that in the second alternative they should examine the Cherokee country west of the ninety-sixth meridian.⁸⁰ Agent Gibson was instructed to remain on the reservation as then located with the Indians in his charge, until the matter regarding the possession of the strip of land in question should be finally settled. He was also instructed to inform the Osages that they would be protected in their rights to the extent of the power of the Interior Department.⁸¹

Soon after the location of the ninety-sixth meridian was officially determined the Osages went to the plains for their fall hunt, much displeased and discouraged, alleging that another gross outrage had been perpetrated upon them by the government. Early in February, Howland,⁸² Gibson, and Mahlon Stubbs, agent for the Kaws, began a journey of one hundred and fifty miles, from the end of the railroad at Coffeyville, to Pond creek where a portion of the Osages were encamped. On February 16 they made arrangements with the Osages for the holding of a council near the agency on Caney river. The council met on the afternoon of March 1; about seventy-five Indians were present. Wistar and Howland were promptly asked to read their instructions, which they did. The Osages then retired to themselves to consider the two alternatives set forth by the Office of Indian Affairs.⁸³

The council met again on the evening of March 4 at the call of the Indians. About forty were present. On behalf of his people Gov. Joseph Pah-ne-no-posh presented to the commission a paper prepared by them on that day. It said in part:

We the Great and Little Osage Indians, Chiefs, Councilors, Braves, Headmen and other members of nation have this day assembled in council at the house of Mrs. Rosalie Chouteau on the banks of the Caney River near the Agency, and do agree to take the proposed lands west of the M D. line 96, to the channel of the Arkansaw River Said Lands to be Sixty miles long bounded on the north by the Kansas line and on the South by the Creek nation . . . on Reservation the Caws to be included the bounds of their tract to be Settled here after the price pr acre for these lands not to exceed twenty cents pr acre. We also wish if possible a Small tract of Land west of the Arkansaw River.⁸⁴

80. Clum to Wistar, November 4, 1871, OIA, (Large) "Letter Book 103," pp. 244-246.

81. Clum to Gibson, November 4, 1871, *ibid.*, p. 247.

82. See Howland's expense account for services rendered in making the agreement with the Osages, OIA, Neosho, H. 576—1872.

83. The proceedings of the council are in OIA, Cent. Supt., I. 1824—1872. See, also, Wistar and Howland to Sec. Int., March 20, 1872, *S. Misc. Docs.*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., v. II (1482), No. 137, pp. 6-7.

84. The paper is dated March 4, 1872, and is in OIA, Cent. Supt., I. 1824—1872.

In council the Osages stated that they wanted a tract of land five or six miles wide, west of the Arkansas. They were assured that the government felt bound to secure them the strip of land in question east of the ninety-sixth meridian if they still desired it, but they observed that there would be difficulties with the Cherokees if they retained it.

An agreement concluded the next day, when some fifty Indians were present, provided that in lieu of the strip, the Cherokee lands between the western boundary of the executive order reservation and the main channel of the Arkansas be ceded and transferred to the Osage tribe, and confirmed to them by the proper authorities at Washington; and that the price of said lands be fixed by the President. It was agreed that the Kaw tribe, then in Kansas, should have the right to settle on the tract of Cherokee lands above described, and ceded to the Osage tribe; and in case the Osage and Kaw tribes could not agree upon their respective locations, or upon the price to be paid for the lands ceded to the Kaw tribe, the President should determine these matters for them. Other provisions of the agreement related to protection of the Osages from intruders, and to the appraisal of certain improvements made by the Osages and Cherokees bordering on both sides of the ninety-sixth meridian.⁸⁵

As a point of objection to the agreement the Cherokee delegation in Washington on March 26 submitted that according to the Cherokee treaty of 1866 the President should fix the price of Cherokee lands west of the ninety-sixth meridian *after* the Cherokees and the Indians to be settled thereon had failed to agree on the price.⁸⁶ The Osages were able to pay for the lands designated in the agreement. Com. Francis A. Walker raised the question whether the government could afford to give up to the occupation of four thousand Osages and Kaws more than one and a half million acres of the lands on which the United States had acquired the right to settle friendly Indians by the Cherokee treaty of 1866. He wrote:

. . . Without apprehending that there will be any considerable difficulty in obtaining future further cessions of territory from tribes within the Indian country as the government shall desire, it would still be my belief that it was decidedly injudicious to exceed in any case the amount contemplated in that treaty, viz., 160 acres to each member of a friendly tribe so settled upon the ceded lands, were it not that the Osages have suffered great hardship and wrong

85. The agreement, dated March 5, 1872, is in *H. Ex. Docs.*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., v. XII (1515), No. 258, pp. 8-11.

86. W. P. Ross et al. to Com. F. A. Walker, March 26, 1872, *S. Misc. Docs.*, loc. cit., p. 6.

in the country from which they came, and have now encountered a grievous disappointment in their expected home in the Indian country, solely through the failure of the government to properly determine their location. If the injuries which the Osages have suffered in the past, their disappointment now through the fault of the Government, and the manifest and urgent importance of adjusting the difficulty without delay, are held to constitute a sufficient reason for allowing these Indians to purchase more land than was contemplated in the treaty of 1866, I know of no reason why this agreement should not be pronounced to be expedient, so far as the United States is concerned, and either confirmed by the Department, or, in case it is held that the Department is precluded from assigning more than 160 acres to each member of the tribe, submitted to Congress for its action.⁸⁷

As to the price of the lands, Walker referred to the protracted efforts of the Osages and Cherokees to effect an agreement relative to the lands in the executive order reservation assigned to the former tribe, and to the fact that the matter was finally left to the President.⁸⁸ "I see not the slightest reason to believe," he said, "that negotiations in the present instance would find any other result." He did not consider it practicable to contract with the Cherokees for lands west of the ninety-sixth degree at any reasonable price.

On April 8 the Cherokee delegation addressed a letter to Secretary Delano giving the assent and approval of their nation to the proposition providing for the settlement of the Osages and Kaws on the portion of the Cherokee lands between the ninety-sixth meridian and the Arkansas river.⁸⁹ The whole matter was submitted to Congress by the Interior Department on April 11. In order to provide the Osage tribe with a reservation, and secure to them a sufficient quantity of land suitable for cultivation, the said Cherokee lands between the ninety-sixth meridian and the main channel of the Arkansas were set apart and confirmed to them by an act of Congress approved on June 5.⁹⁰ The act provided that the Osage tribe should permit the settlement within the limits of said tract of land of the Kansas tribe of Indians, the lands so settled and occupied by said Kansas Indians, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres for each member of said tribe, to be paid for by said Kansas tribe out of the proceeds of the sales of their lands in Kansas, at a price not exceeding that paid by the Osage Indians to the Cherokee nation. It will be remembered that the tract of land thus designated

87. Walker to Sec. Int., April 1, 1872, *ibid.*, pp. 2-6.

88. Walker had hoped to effect a settlement of the matter without bringing it to the attention of Congress. Walker to Hoag, January 25, 1872, OIA, (Large) "Letter Book 103," p. 551.

89. W. P. Ross et al. to Delano, April 8, 1872, *S. Misc. Docs.*, loc. cit., pp. 9-10.

90. Act of June 5, 1872, 17 *Statutes*, 228.

by Congress was the same tract which the United States agreed to sell to the Osages by article fourteen of the unratified treaty made with that tribe in 1868. The reservation acquired by the Osages, after a home had been provided for the Kaws, constituted the lands now in Osage county, Oklahoma, or a tract of about 1,470,059 acres. The Kaw reservation was on the border of Kansas, just east of the Arkansas. It embraced the lands east of that river, now in Kay county, Oklahoma.

The Osages saved what they could from the wreck of their first settlement, and crossed the ninety-sixth meridian. Commissioner Walker, from his office in Washington, could say of their future: "Having now a fixed place of abode, and having large sums coming to them from the sale of their lands in Kansas, the Department sees no reason to doubt that they will in a few years become a rich and prosperous people."⁹¹ The vision of Agent Gibson was less clear. He was on the reservation close to the "rocks," the "sandstone bluffs and ridges," and the "scraggy, knotty post-oak."

The price of the lands of the reservation fixed by the President was satisfactory neither to the Osages nor to the Cherokees. Agent Stubbs and Superintendent Hoag considered fifty cents an acre a fair price for the lands. In June J. P. C. Shanks, John A. Smith and Samuel S. Burdett, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Indian Affairs were requested by Secretary Delano to examine the lands with a view of forming an opinion as to the price which should be paid to the Cherokees for the same. After examining the lands the subcommittee on January 9, 1873, reported their conclusion that the same should be priced at sixty-five cents per acre. It was understood, however, that this conclusion was a compromise and that at least one member of the subcommittee desired a higher valuation. On January 13 the Cherokee delegation earnestly protested against the price named by the subcommittee for the lands, and insisted strenuously that the price should be fixed at not less than one dollar and a quarter an acre. The Cherokees apparently considered that their lands just west of the ninety-sixth meridian were as valuable as lands, thirty miles farther north in Kansas, which the Osages had ceded to the United States in trust to be sold at a price not less than one dollar and a quarter an acre. On January 31 Acting Commissioner Clum stated that he considered seventy-five cents per acre would be a just and reasonable compensation to the Cherokees for the lands.⁹² The correspondence relative to the price of the lands

91. Walker to Delano, November 1, 1872, *Indian Affairs*, 1872, pp. 40-41.

92. Clum to Delano, January 31, 1873, OIA, "Rpt. Book 22," p. 236.

paid for the lands selected for the Osages, which attempts uniformly resulted in the total disagreement between them, and that the price should now be fixed by the President, as provided, in the treaty, in the case of such disagreement between the parties; and, after full and careful consideration, with a view to an intelligent understanding of the subject, I Ulysses S Grant, President of the United States of America, have decided that the price of the lands selected and set apart for the Osages, as aforesaid, be fixed at seventy cents per acre, and in pursuance of the authority conferred upon me by the 16th Article of the Cherokee treaty of the 19th July 1866, do hereby fix the price of said lands at seventy cents per acre.



Extract from executive order of February 4, 1873, by which President Grant fixed the price of Osage lands at seventy cents per acre.

was submitted to President Grant, without recommendation or suggestions by the Secretary of the Interior. On February 4 the President by an executive order fixed the price at seventy cents per acre.⁹³

Superintendent Hoag on March 7 called attention to the fact that the price on part of the lands in question had been fixed at fifty cents an acre by the executive order of May 27, 1871, and he implied quite strongly that in justice to the Osages the price should not be increased.⁹⁴ Secretary Delano considered seventy cents an acre a fair price; and he held that the agreement of March 5, 1872, and the act of June 5 following, annulled the previous action of the President as to the price the Osages should pay for the lands. He also observed that the valuation of fifty cents an acre was made without previously ordering an examination of the lands, and that the information before the President at that time consisted entirely of the opinions expressed by persons who had casually seen a part of the territory appraised.⁹⁵ In September, Gibson reported that the Osages regarded the price of seventy cents an acre as a plain violation of the promises of the government which guaranteed to them a home in Indian territory on lands that should not cost them more than fifty cents per acre.⁹⁶

An act of Congress, approved March 3, 1873, provided for the transfer from the proceeds of the sale of the Osage lands in Kansas, the sum of \$1,650,600, or so much thereof as might be necessary to pay for the Osage lands in the Indian territory, and for placing the same on the books of the Treasury Department to the credit of the Cherokee Indians.⁹⁷ During the next decade sufficient money was realized from the sales of lands in Kansas to pay the Cherokees for the new reservation. The Osages paid the Cherokees as provided in the act of March 3, 1873, the aggregate sum being \$1,099,137.41.⁹⁸ The lands thus paid for by the Osages were conveyed to the United States in trust for the use and benefit of the Osages and Kaws by

93. The executive order, dated February 4, 1873, is in OIA, "Executive Order File."

94. Hoag to Clum, March 7, 1873, OIA, Cent. Supt., I. 22—1873.

95. Delano to Hoag, March 25, 1873, OIA, "Rec. of Letters Sent," No. 12, pp. 304-307.

96. Gibson to Hoag, September, 1873, *Indian Affairs, 1873*, p. 218. In 1877 Com. J. Q. Smith proposed that the Osages sell to the Poncas a portion of their reservation, suitable in extent, locality and adaptability for agricultural purposes. The suggestion was made by him that the Poncas purchase a tract of about 50,000 acres in the eastern or northern part of the Osage reservation. He considered that fifty cents an acre would be a fair price to pay the Osages for the lands. Smith wanted the Osages to understand that no unreasonable price for the lands would be favorably entertained by the Interior Department.—Smith to E. C. Kemble, January 15, 1877, *S. Reports*, 46 Cong., 2 Sess., v. VI (1898), No. 670, pp. 407-409.

97. 17 *Statutes*, 538. The Secretary of the Interior requested that this be done.—Delano to speaker of House of Representatives, February 4, 1873, *H. Ex. Docs.*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., v. IX (1567), No. 183.

98. Commissioner Price to Sec. Int., February 17, 1882, *ibid.*, 47 Cong., 1 Sess., v. XX (2028), No. 89, p. 35.

deed of June 14, 1883.⁹⁹ And the Osages had secured a reservation in Indian territory and paid for it out of the proceeds of the sale of their lands in Kansas.¹⁰⁰

99. The deed conveyed the lands "in trust for the use and benefit of the Osage and Kansas Indians." It stated that the lands of the Kaw reservation "were paid for by the Osages to the Cherokees, and the Kansas Indians have paid for that portion assigned to them by proper transfer of the funds arising from the sale of their lands in Kansas." The deed is in *S. Reports*, 49 Cong., 1 Sess., v. VIII (2362), pp. 315-316; and in *S. Documents*, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., v. XXII (5409), No. 744, pp. 63-65. Mr. David Parsons brought to my attention a typed report prepared by the General Accounting Office and deposited in the Court of Claims. The report relates to a petition of the Kaws in Case No. F-64, and says in part: "The Cherokees sold a certain tract of land in the Indian Territory to the Osages, the value of which \$1,096,748.80 was charged to the Osage Funds and credited to the Cherokee funds by appropriation Warrants No. 611, April 25, 1874, and No. 648, March 24, 1875 [see General Accounting Office Report—Ir Re: Petition of Osage Indians B-38, p. 58, Item b], but the Kansas Indians were settled on a portion of this tract, and the value of that portion occupied by the said Kansas Indians, namely, \$70,096.12, should have been paid for out of their funds instead of the Osage funds (see Act June 5, 1872, 17 *Stats.*, 292). Under the Act of June 16, 1880 (21 *Stats.*, 292), the United States have made a general settlement with the Osage Indians and have repaid to them the \$70,096.12 hereinbefore mentioned—that amount being included in the sum of \$236,083.88 credited to the Osages by appropriation Warrant No. 887, May 27, 1881. The United States having paid for the lands occupied by the Kansas Indians as herein set forth, are entitled to reimbursement—\$70,096.12."

100. In 1891 Agent Miles reported that the Osages had never been satisfied with the conveyance and had repeatedly asked that a deed be made to them direct; and for that purpose they had endeavored to seek the aid of attorneys a number of times.—L. J. Miles to Com. Ind. Aff., September 1, 1891, *Indian Affairs*, 1891, p. 353.

Bypaths of Kansas History

ABOLITION "SIGN"

The sign used by members of the "Abolition Aid Society" is disclosed to Proslavery adherents in this article in the *Squatter Sovereign*, of Atchison, March 27, 1855.

ABOLITION AID SOCIETY.—The following is the mode of recognition by the members of this society: They have a piece of leather twelve inches in length, cut in the shape of a horse shoe. About one half the piece, including the middle, is one inch in width; the remainder, at each end, is cut much smaller, being a small string. This piece of leather is worn in the left vest pocket. Whenever used, it is taken out by the right hand and carelessly strapped over the left. If this is answered by another in the same way—though strangers to each other—they are at once friends.—BRUNSWICKER.

FRIENDS FROM ACROSS THE BORDER

The editor of the Proslavery Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*, a former Missourian, welcomes old friends to Kansas territory two weeks before the March 30, 1855, election for members of the territory's legislative assembly. The editorial was printed March 13.

Within the last few days we have welcomed to Kansas a great many of our old friends from Missouri. They are coming in to make permanent settlement, and we are glad to see them in before the election, as it is very obvious that our nominal governor is devoting all his time to try and carry the ensuing election for the Abolitionists. He is (we have no doubt) delaying the election as long as he dare, for the purpose of getting as many of his Negro thieving friends from Thayer & Co., as he can, prior to the election, and to *drill* his secret confederates as thoroughly as possible before the fight comes off. Won't it be a glorious sight to see this regiment of his Excellency's? Fallstaff's ragged regiment would be beautiful compared to it.—And it is intimated that they will *really* have death-dealing revolvers and huge bowie knives; every ragged rascal of them. We hope none of the "bloody villains" will come this way, "our folks" are not used to the smell of gunpowder, and the gleaming of knives, it makes us feel like fainting to talk about it, we really think the government ought to be called on, to protect us from these bloody minded Thayer men.

We hope our timid friends in Missouri will not be scared out of their intention of coming here, however, perhaps we may *persuade* them not to hurt us. Provisions are scarce in Kansas, we would therefore suggest to the emigrants to bring their guns and ammunition with them, as game is very abundant, deer, turkeys &c., and a Missourian can always make a living with his gun in a game country. We would also advise that they bring plenty of well

twisted *Hemp* rope, as there may be a great many Ne—horse thieves about the time of our election, and it might be necessary to hang some of them by way of example, and to prevent the shedding of blood, as Cromwell once said, when he ordered a company to be shot.

We are order loving and law abiding men, but until we make laws, we are HIGHER-law men. We go in for hanging thieves of *all* kinds, as HIGH as Haman, as a gentle hint to evil disposed men, to deter them from the commission of crime.

KANSAS LEGISLATORS AT DINNER IN 1855

The Kansas legislature was meeting at Shawnee Methodist mission in Johnson county in the summer of 1855, when James Redpath, correspondent of the St. Louis (Mo.) *Democrat*, described dinner with the legislators in this dispatch published in *The Daily Democrat*, August 23, 1855.

WESTPORT, Wednesday Aug. 15, 1855.

Westport is a thriving, bustling, and, at present, muddy little city, four miles from Kansas City, one mile from the boundary line which separates the territory from the state, and two miles and a half from the Shawnee Methodist mission. Its population, I believe, is about 800. It supports a Methodist and a Union church, two large hotels, several bar-rooms, (no booksellers' stores) and a weekly newspaper, which changed into a daily at the commencement of the legislative session, and is now published tri-weekly. From the usual appearance of Westport, I should judge that a brisk business is regularly transacted here.

The legislators board either at Westport or at the mission. At the mission about one half of them are accommodated night and day. The others sleep, breakfast and take supper here, some of them returning daily for dinner also.

Three, sometimes four stages, ply between Westport and the mission three or four times a day. A stage also runs regularly from Kansas City to Westport, and occasionally visits the mission.

The fare to the mission is twenty-five cents a trip; to return at noon for dinner, therefore, costs fifty cents. The same sum is charged for dinner at the mission. Those who prefer dining "very well" in preference to dining "plainly," return to Westport at noon; those who prefer their ease to the gratification of their palates, bid them good speed, but remain at their posts. Of course I always remain. I think, as the Indians very truthfully remark, "it is better to sit than to ride."

Shortly after twelve o'clock—generally a few minutes after the house adjourns, the first dinner bell rings. Dinner bells in this section, I may state, are huge affairs—they are hung at the top of the house—and their sound is heard at least a mile off. As soon as honorable members hear the bell ring, there is a sudden stampede from the "Manual Labor School" to Mr. Johnson's house, in which the dining-room, kitchen and lounging room is situated. The distance between the two buildings is about two hundred yards. As soon as our Solons reach it, they proceed to the front door and sit on forms and chairs

under the verandah, discussing bills, (not bills of fare, but legislative documents,) past, present and to come, newspaper criticisms on members' conduct, political rumors and territorial interests, till the second bell rings. They then besiege the door of the dining-room, and generally manage to play off practical jokes until the "dinner horn" sounds and the door is thrown open. The members are very gallant—"Make way for the ladies, gentlemen," is a *ruse* which has often opened a file in the ranks of the dining-room door besiegers, to enable the wag who uttered it to walk into the foremost row with the greatest ease. Cutting out letters in the printed "Notice" pasted on the door—making left hand table read left hand *tale*, rates for dinner, *rats* for the same meal, &c., is another popular dining-room door amusement. I won't mention the cunning fox-and-crow custom of praising some modest man's "personal pulchriture"—if he happens to be very near the door,—so immoderately that he is at last forced to retire to the hindmost ranks to "hide his blushes." I won't mention it, I say, because it is as obviously stolen from *Aesop* as many of the statutes passed at the mission are "cribbed" from the Missouri code, and I wish to notice original features only.

"When the dining room door opens, there is a rush—but unto what shall I liken it? The meeting of mighty waters, to use the refined phraseology of Young America, is certainly "no circumstance." The first interview of long separated lovers fails to convey an idea of it. "Itself alone can be its parallel."

The dining room is a long, lofty, dingy apartment, at the further end of which, (one smells on entering it,) the kitchen is situated. Two parallel tables support the fare, and forms a support to the consumers of it. The left hand table is appropriated to the—I can't say *goats*, because Free Soilers in Kansas are so designated, so I will merely say, the members of both houses, judges, the governor, (they call him only "squire" now,) and the young ladies who may be out there visiting the legislature, and the wives of the various "courts" and other sons of Blackstone. The right hand table is appropriated by outsiders in general—officers, distinguished strangers, reporters, printers, and often clergymen.

At the head of the left hand table sits Gov. Reeder; but, since his last memorable veto, he seldom enters until nearly all the others have left. At the head of our table sits the president of the council, our host the Rev. Mr. Johnson. As soon as all are seated, he gives a "thump" with the handle of a knife on the table. Silence ensues. A grace is then asked by himself. "Now comes the tug of war." Knives and forks ply, and corn-cake, milk and breads of various sorts disappear with a rapidity unparalleled, except by the denizens of the 19th century.

Our fare is good, but simple, and *toujours la menne*. It consists of *liquors*, butter, sweet milk and pure water in unlimited quantities. "*Solids*": Corn-bread, wheat-bread, boiled or roast beef, and boiled ham. *Vegetables*: Potatoes, tomatoes, boiled cabbages, cucumbers, (not sure of this item, but think I've seen them,) boiled corn, boiled corn-heads. *Pies*: Sometimes a piece of blackberry pie, but generally none. *Aids to consumption*: Hunger. No butter or wine allowed. *Puddings*: None. *Extras*: Grace before meat.

After dinner, members again return to their rendezvous at the front door, but I have observed that their conversation is invariably less eager and the differences in their opinions less obvious to a listener, after what Mr. Breck-

endoff's housekeeper called "the noon-meal," than before it. In a short time they proceed to the legislative chamber—which is a dingy square school room, with five windows at one side and four windows at the other. A raised platform, on which the speaker sits, supplies the place of the window on one side. The desks at which the members sit are the ordinary desks used at common schools in some sections of our country—in Missouri for aught I know to the contrary. I began this letter to occupy one hour I hardly knew how to dispose of. It is finished, and my paper is. In my next extra letter I will give you a brief description of the personal appearance and habits of the prominent members of the house of representatives. J. R.

LIFE IN EARLY-DAY TOPEKA

From the Salem (Mass.) *Register*, February 25, 1856.

Extracts from a letter of an emigrant to Kansas [James Cowles?] to his brother, a resident in Essex county:

TOPEKA, KANZAS TERRITORY,
Jan. 22, 1856.

Dear Brother:—

Doubtless, long before this, you have been made acquainted with my Kanzas enterprise, and my attempt to establish for myself a home here.—Shall I give you some little account of my goings and doings? . . .

My next plan was to migrate to the remote West, "where Nature is young." At this period arose the cry of free and Christian emigration to Kanzas. It was a rallying cry to me; every nerve was strung, every power moved. I resolved to sell all that I had and embark in the enterprise.

I left my home in A—, Ohio, at 8 o'clock in the morning, June 4th, 1855. I had sold my house and lots in M., and had pocketed about \$400. I was more than two weeks in reaching the frontiers of the territory, owing to delays and to the sickness, on the Missouri, of a man with whom I fell in company. I arrived at Leavenworth, June 20, and joined a party of four to take a foot tramp by the government road to Fort Riley, 150 miles, and got my meals with the seventeen teamsters who, each with an ox-team of five or six yokes, were transporting provisions to the fort, or at the squatters' houses by the way. The first night, a lovely one in June, I slept on my old red chest, the same that once held the treasure of the paternal household, under the open canopy of heaven, with my umbrella over my head and a sheet over my legs to absorb the dew—a sleep sweet and refreshing. That night, you may be sure, I thought of R. and my three little ones, and of the long months that might intervene before our re-union. But morning came, and bright hope arose. The landscape under my eye was gorgeous and tearfully beautiful. Mounds of prairie, covered with fresh verdure, were swelling and sinking before me.

I reached Fort Riley, or rather Pawnee, one mile down stream, on Thursday, June 29. I called in passing at Topeka, on the south side of the river, to see my nephew H. B. C. I found him at work putting up a composite building of stone and mortar. I took a slight view of the place and pursued my journey. I stopped also a short time at Manhattan, a Cincinnati settlement on the north side of the river, within ten or twelve miles of the fort. There were there, at

that time, six or eight houses built of Cincinnati lumber. The whole town is situated on the Kanzas bottom, but a few feet above the water, and liable to be overflowed at any time.

As to Pawnee, it had begun to leak out that its plat was on the military reservation, and of course its prospect as a town site was "nowhere."

At this point I revolved in my mind what I should do. Of all the places I had seen, Topeka stood fairest to afford the means of accomplishing my ends, and my course for the future was marked out. Divine Providence, in answer to much prayer for guidance, seemed to point directly to this place.

I arrived here July 3d, at evening. Fixed now as to place, the next thing to look for was employment. A fair opportunity of profitable employment with a team of oxen offered, and I bought two yokes and appurtenances. With these I went to work, hired my nephew H. to drive them, and sometimes went myself.

In this employment I have been tolerably successful. I purchased a fine cow and calf, worth thirty dollars. The cow still yields five quarts of milk a day, most of which I sell at five cents a quart. My plan embraced the limiting of the expenses of my whole establishment to the narrowest possible extent. To this end I purchased a cooking stove for \$30, to do my own cooking by, and erected a small cabin of cotton wood bark to live in. With my team, I hauled logs to mill, plowed, broke prairie sod, and teamed it generally, besides working some with my tools.

About the 1st of October I had gathered fifteen tons of hay for wintering my stock, and in three short days thereafter had the chagrin to see it all burned up by the dashing prairie fires, that sweep over this entire land during the fall months. I have witnessed some of the sublimest spectacles of this kind. They are quite as exciting as city conflagrations.

About the same time I fell sick with ague and fever, which continued to keep me prostrate, or retard my movements, for more than a month. This brought me to November. I had now to replace my hay-mow with corn and corn fodder, or frost-bitten prairie grass, which was expensive, as I had to hire the most of it done.

During all this time I have steadily kept in view the school-room as the theatre of my usefulness.—During August, a project was set on foot to get up a class for a young lady resident here. A school meeting was called, and a school committee appointed, myself a member of it. The subscription was raised, the teacher engaged, and the house provided; but the school, through the sickness of the teacher and the scholars, and the unfitness of the house to withstand the cold, did not well succeed. During the progress of that school, immigration of families had been going on from Providence, R. I., New Bedford and Boston, Mass., Portsmouth, N. H., and various places in Maine.—It seemed as though this was the time for me to move. I visited the families, obtained pledges for about seventeen scholars, and set the time, Jan. 2d, for opening the school. But when January 2d came, winter had set in in good earnest. People could hardly keep comfortable in the best of our houses except over a stove, much less in unfinished houses. No finished room can be had. I rented a corner of a stone building with good floor and one window, made wind-tight by rags instead of mortar and rough-board partition battened with paper, for the joint purpose of living in it and holding my schools—

singing and day schools. The singing school is actually in progress. The day school may also flourish on the return of the mild winter weather to which Kanzas is believed to be entitled.

Since my residence here, I have enjoyed the proofs of the confidence of my fellow citizens in being elected delegate to several important conventions, though I am no politician. I have been chosen teacher of a Bible class, and am often called upon, in the absence of ordained preachers, to conduct religious services on the Sabbath. These are being held at present in my own hired room, and we have many precious interviews. I can not but look upon these as indications of my Heavenly Father's will that I should abide here and fulfill humbly my delightful tasks.

My stay in Kanzas has been, hitherto, a life of great bodily toil, but accompanied with many proofs of divine favor. There is a great need of good men here to fix the standard of integrity and the other sterling points of true Christian character, as well as to keep up religious meetings; and I bless God that we have many such. I have had the happiness of meeting here many Christian people from the New England states, stimulated to emigrate to Kanzas from the same impulses as myself. I really feel as though God had sent me here for some good end, and my prayer is that He will help me accomplish it.

Topeka (though at my first acquaintance with it possessed no other advantages than a delightful situation, surrounded as it is by the most charming rolling prairie, skirted frequently with ravines filled with a growth of timber, brush-wood and vines,) has grown within seven months to a place of considerable note. It has not, however, like its near neighbor, Lawrence, twenty-five miles east, been made the butt of Missouri bluster and invasion with bloody intent; but it has been made the place of the meeting of several important state conventions.

The first in order was a convention called to confer on the expediency of forming a state government. This met Sept. 23. The result of its deliberations was an almost unanimous approval of the project, and an order was left for the election of delegates to form a constitution. These delegates met at Topeka, Oct. 23, and drew up a state constitution, which in most respects may be regarded as a model. This convention appointed a day for the election of legislators, who should meet in general assembly at Topeka on the 4th of March prox. So you will see that our prospects seem fair for becoming the permanent seat of government. Add to these circumstances the fact of our central position to all inhabited parts of the territory, the centering of roads at this point from various parts for the crossing of the Kanzas—as, for example, the California road crossing at Papan's ferry—and you have a favorable picture. On the contingency of our admission as a free state, by the present congress, of which, in my judgment, there is little doubt, depends a large immigration in the spring into the territory, and especially to the new made capital. As to claims, they may still be had within a few miles of this place. I have taken one, distant about seven miles, a most beautiful prairie, with one or two ravines passing through it, furnishing water throughout the year, and underlaid, as I am informed, with beds of coal. Some of the coal of this stratum, which "crops out" on the bluff of the Kanzas, about three miles to the west of Topeka, I have seen and handled, and it is equal to the coal of

Tallmadge, or any of the northern Ohio mines. The bed at its present working is sixteen inches thick, good coal.

The present population of the place I am not able to state definitely. You may form some estimate of it from the vote just cast for members of the legislature. The entire vote of this election precinct was 145. Rents are very high. One of our best houses, one and a half stories, 18 by 30, rents for \$20 per month. Other houses which cost from \$100 to \$200, rent at from \$7 to \$10 per month. Next spring there will be a huge outcry for houses to rent, which our present tenements can by no means supply. The legislature must be accommodated, or they will adjourn to Lawrence, an event greatly feared among us.

Again, city property is fast rising in value. The city association have laid out their grounds on a very generous scale, making the principal streets, or avenues, 130 feet wide, and other streets 80 ft.; the building lots 75 by 150; and have made presents of one or two lots to any person who shall put up one or more habitable dwellings on one of them.—I have one of these, on which I have commenced building a frame house, 16 by 34, two stories high, which I mean to complete on the return of warm weather. I intend to use the upper floor as a school-room, and to rent the lower one to a family. I candidly think that it is rare to find a place in which investments are safer, or a fair return of profits surer, than here in Topeka, whose prospects of growth are enhanced by the impress of Freedom fresh upon it.

As to my own person, I may say, you would hardly recognize your brother. He has become full, fat and sleek. He subsists almost entirely on mush and milk, and corn and Graham bread. His cheeks, for fourteen years last past, sunken, thin and pale, are now plump and ruddy. Kanzas is a hungry country. I never ate so much in all time before. Others say the same. There are few thin faces here; none wear them who live on the delicious staple of the country, corn. Our meal is coarsely ground, but is sweet beyond comparison. We bolt it as it goes. Our beef is richer, tenderer, and fatter, than that Eastward. The wild prairie grass is unsurpassed for fattening or working uses. One can form little idea of the luxuriance of the growth, without seeing it. Last October, I mowed in grass as high as my head; and there were unnumbered acres of it. In truth, I am delighted with this country, even to tears sometimes, for its resources, its beauty and its prospects. C.

NEUTRALITY

From *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth City, February 6, 1858.

Brigham Young tried to induce a chief of the Snake Indians to join him in fighting the United States. The reply of the Indian shows that he understands the "neutrality" policy. Said he: "When redskin fight redskin, blue-coat stands by and look on; when blue-coat fight blue-coat, redskin stands by and look on; when blue-coat fight redskin, redskin turns his back—blue-coat is very great."

INDIAN BATTLE

From the *Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington, August 11, 1860.

A bloody fight between the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, on the one side, and the Delawares and Pottawatomies on the other, took place a few days ago on Solomon's Fork, about one hundred miles above Fort Riley, in which three hundred of the latter tribes were killed. Some of the most prominent members of those tribes, well known to the whites of eastern Kansas, were numbered among the slain. The Arapahoes and Cheyennes are getting to be very troublesome on the plains, and emigrants traversing them and settlers on the extreme borders are suffering daily from their operations.

THE KANSAS STAR OFFICIALLY BECOMES A PART OF THE FLAG

While Abraham Lincoln, President-elect of the United States, was en route to Washington for his inaugural he participated in a flag-raising ceremony in Philadelphia which was described as follows in contemporaneous press accounts.

From the *New York Tribune*, February 23, 1861.

PHILADELPHIA, Friday, Feb. 22, 1861.

The ceremony of raising the flag of 34 stars over the Hall of Independence this morning, by Mr. Lincoln, was attended with all the solemnity due such an occasion, the scene being an impressive one. At the rising of the sun crowds of people streamed from all parts of the city toward the state house, and very soon every inch of ground was occupied, a vast number of ladies being present.

The weather was cool and bracing.

At 7 o'clock Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the hall, and there received by Theodore Cuyler, who warmly welcomed him to its venerable walls in the hour of national peril and distress, when the great work achieved by the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers seems threatened with instant ruin. Mr. Lincoln responded as follows:

Mr. Cuyler: I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here, in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, Sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from

the mother land; but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. (Great applause.) It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. (Applause.) Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance, that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense. (Applause.)

My friends, this is wholly an unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something toward raising the flag. I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. (Cries of "No, no.") I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by.

Mr. Lincoln concluded amid great applause.

The members of the city council paid their respects to him, and the procession moved directly toward the platform erected in front of the state house.

On Mr. Lincoln's appearance on the platform he was hailed with outbursts of applause from the surrounding multitude.

Mr. Benton of the select council made a brief address inviting Mr. Lincoln to raise the flag.

Mr. Lincoln replied in a patriotic speech, stating a cheerful compliance with the request. He alluded to the original flag of thirteen stars, saying that the number had increased as time rolled on, and we became a happy, powerful people, each star adding to its prosperity. The future is in the hands of the people. It was on such an occasion we could reason together, reaffirm our devotion to the country, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Let us make up our minds that whenever we do put a new star upon our banner, it shall be a fixed one, never to be dimmed by the horrors of war, but brightened by the contentment and prosperity of peace. Let us go on to extend the area of our usefulness, add star upon star until their light shall shine over five hundred millions of a free and happy people.

Mr. Lincoln then threw off his overcoat in an offhand, easy manner, the backwoodsian style of which caused many good-natured remarks.

The Rev. Mr. Clark addressed the Throne of Grace in an impressive prayer, many spectators uncovering themselves, when the flag was rolled up in a man-of-war style, then adjusted, a signal fired, and, amid the most excited enthusiasm, the President-elect hoisted the national ensign. A stiff breeze caught the folded bunting and threw it out boldly to the winds. Cheer followed cheer, until hoarseness prevented a continuance.

The ceremony over, Mr. Lincoln returned to the Continental hotel, followed by an excited crowd, breakfasted soon after, and departed for the Pennsylvania railroad depot.

From *Harper's Weekly*, New York, March 9, 1861.

We publish on the preceding page a picture—from photographs taken at the time—of Mr. Lincoln raising the stars and stripes opposite Independence hall, Philadelphia, on the morning of Washington's birthday. Just in front of the main entrance to the state house, and but a few feet from the sacred hall of liberty, a large platform had been erected for the President-elect to stand upon before the people while he raised the starry banner of the republic. The elevation, nearly six feet, enabled a vast multitude to observe every thing enacted thereon. The front and sides of the stage were wrapped around with an American flag, while lesser flags floated from the stanchions.

Before the flag was raised prayer was offered, and Mr. S. Benton, on behalf of the city of Philadelphia, addressed Mr. Lincoln in words of welcome. The President replied as follows:

"Fellow Citizens.—I am invited and called before you to participate in raising above Independence hall the flag of our country, with an additional star upon it. (Cheers.) I propose now, in advance of performing this very pleasant and complimentary duty, to say a few words. I propose to say that when that flag was originally raised here it had but thirteen stars. I wish to call your attention to the fact that, under the blessing of God, each additional star added to that flag has given additional prosperity and happiness to this country, until it has advanced to its present condition; and its welfare in the future, as well as in the past, is in your hands. (Cheers.) Cultivating the spirit that animated our fathers, who gave renown and celebrity to this hall, cherishing that fraternal feeling which has so long characterized us as a nation, excluding passion, ill-temper, and precipitate action on all occasions, I think we may promise ourselves that not only the new star placed upon that flag shall be permitted to remain there to our permanent prosperity for years to come, but additional ones shall from time to time be placed there, until we shall number, as was anticipated by the great historian, five hundred millions of happy and prosperous people. (Great applause.) With these few remarks, I proceed to the very agreeable duty assigned me."

We copy from the *Philadelphia Press* the following account of the actual raising of the flag:

"The excitement was of a fearful character when the President-elect seized the rope to hoist the flag of the country to the crest of the staff over the state house. The souls of all seemed starting from their eyes, and every throat was wide. The shouts of the people were like the roar of waves which do not cease to break. For full three minutes the cheers continued. The expression of the President-elect was that of silent solemnity. His long arms were extended. Each hand alternately pulled at the halyards, and a bundle of bunting, tri-colored, which had never been kissed by the wind before, slowly rose into the sky. If the shouting had been fearful and tumultuous before, it became absolutely maniacal now. From the smallest urchin to the tall form which rivaled the President's in compass of chest and length of limb, there rose a wild cry. It reminded us of some of the storied shouts which rang among the Scottish hills in the days of clans and clansmen. Suddenly, when the broad bunting had reached the summit of the mast it unrolled at once, and blazed in the sunlight. At the same moment the band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner," and a cannon ranged in the square sent up peal after peal.

Mr. Lincoln was then escorted to his hotel, and in a short time the crowd had melted away, many going back to their yet untasted breakfast, and the rest moving off as business or pleasure prompted."

GOING SOUTH

From the St. Marys *Times*, November 17, 1876.

A whole troop, of visiting Indians, passed through town one day this week bound for the south. The chief was evidently an aristocratic old scalper, as he lay full length in the foremost wagon wrapped in a bright red blanket, with many evident luxuries about him, and the rest of the troop followed on horseback or in wagons as their worldly wealth permitted. Wagons loaded with goods and baggage, saddle ponies laden with baggage and squaws and children perched on top, also, many loose ponies following in the train as presents from the tribe they visited. The cavalcade presented a decidedly unique appearance and excited much interest as they filed slowly through the streets.

"UNKNOWN—KILLED BY THE INDIANS"

From the Dodge City *Times*, November 23, 1878.

S. B. Williams and C. E. Moore, who have sheep ranches south, called at our office Thursday, and reported having found the dead body of a man, on the big bend of Crooked creek, seven miles east of Ganz's. The body is described as follows: Height 5 feet 9 inches; light curly hair tinged with gray; thin sandy whiskers; about 50 years; one tooth in upper part of mouth broken. Had on brown cotton coat, cotton shirt, red stoga shoes, common red overalls; black hat, narrow brim. Supposed to have been killed by Indians. Two holes in shirt indicated that shot passed through from side to side. A bullet was found 100 yards from the body. The body laid flat, face down. There was nothing to identify it. Some pieces of Ford county maps and some wheat chaff were found in vest pockets.

Mr. Williams wrapped the body, which was nothing more than skin and bones, in some blankets, and buried it where it lay. He marked a head board: "Unknown—killed by the Indians."

Could the plains give up their dead, what tales would be told! How many have died with their "boots on"—"unwept, unhonored, unsung."

STREAMLINING IN 1911

From *The Jefferson County Tribune*, Oskaloosa, March 17, 1911.

The Seneca accommodation on the Missouri Pacific got within two miles of McLouth Monday evening before it jumped the track which is considered quite a record for the Seneca accommodation. The train was going all of seven miles an hour when the tender hit the ties and owing to the excessive speed the train ran 150 yards on the ties before a stop could be made. That is the engineer's report of the affair, but passengers on the train say that he did not know he was off until a farmer climbed over the fence and told him. The train was delayed about an hour.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles on Kansas history published in recent numbers of *The Aerend*, quarterly publication of Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, included: "That Was the Life," notes on early-day Oberlin, by Naomi Griffith, Summer, 1937, number; "A New Menace to the Middle West: The Dust Storm," by Victor C. Seibert, Fall, 1937; "The Western Frontier of 1860," by Raymond L. Welty, Winter, 1938; and "The Future of Kansas Archaeology," by Wayne Delavan, Summer, 1938.

Included among Kansas subjects of a historical nature discussed in a seven months' period by Victor Murdock in his front-page column, printed daily in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*, were: "When a Group of Kansans Strung a Railroad Line Lengthwise of Mexico," December 4, 1937; "Oldest of Branding Irons in Continuous Kansas Use Is Preserved by Wichitan [Fred Hinkle]," December 17; Kansas communities that work back, after oil excitement, to their old composure, December 27; "Low Down on Sunflower [Kansas emblem] as Found in Ancient Book," December 28; "What New Years Was Like Sixty-one Years Ago Today in the Town of Wichita," January 1, 1938; "Spartan Stamina of a Race That Showed in a Wichitan, the Late John (Jack) Abbott," January 4; Eagle township history, January 7; "One Long Cattle Drive from Texas to St. Louis Preceding Trail End Here," January 8; Salina Indian burial ground being excavated by G. L. Whiteford and others, January 10; "Reuben A. Cox Witnessed Entry of First Railroad Into Sedgwick County," January 12; "Record of First Lumber Yard Established in Wichita by Messrs. Weeks and Ewing," January 18; Ninnescah township settlers and their descendants, January 21; "Filling Extra Big Wagon With Buffalo Hindquarters Out West of Wichita," January 26; Viola township history, January 28; Burton car works north of Wichita, February 3; Greeley township history, February 4; "An Eye-witness Account of the Death of John Sedgwick," February 11; Lincoln's journey to Kansas in 1859, February 12; "Long Journey Into Wichita On the Running Gears of an Early-Day Wagon," February 17; Eugene F. Ware, February 25; "Short Step in Time From the Buffalo to the Long-Horn and From the Long-Horn to the Purebred Cattle

of This Day," March 3; "Series of Wichita Views Which For the Most Part Have Now Disappeared," March 5; "Strange Escape of a Drum From Fury of the Tornado Which Tore Up Towanda [in 1892]," March 17; "Thirty Red Prisoners of War, Several of Them Chiefs, Once Liberated at Wichita [in 1878]," March 18; "Glimpse of William Couch, Who Was Second in Command to Oklahoma Captain Payne," March 23; "Things C. A. Aikman Recalls About a Terrible Tornado [Towanda, March 31, 1892]," March 31; "Stage Coach Arrival Here [in 1870] That Has Been Followed by Years Rich in Happiness," April 4; "[Jesse Chisholm] Witnessed a Statement Confirming the Death of . . . Sequoyah in Old Mexico," April 12; memory of G. A. Reese, who "Played With Children of German Family Massacred by the Indians," April 13; "When Oklahoma Opened at an Exciting High Noon Forty-nine Years Ago Today," April 22; "One Ghost City [Cave Springs] in Kansas Which Never Had a Funeral Save That of Town Itself," April 27; "Picture of Prairie Dugout, Outpost of Civilization, on High Plains of Kansas," April 30; "Contributions of Nations to Population of Kansas When the State Was Young," May 5; "Old Arkansas City Letter, Written Sixty-six Years Ago, Tells a Story of the Past," May 6; "Kansas Pioneer Mother Who Would Not Believe That Her Baby Was Dead," May 7; "Reminiscence of Dr. E. B. Allen, Pioneer," May 10; "Story Shards in Kansas Tell of Tempering Pots by the Prairie Indians," May 12; "Big Well at Greensburg Which Is Fine Monument to the City's Pioneers," May 25; "Old Iron Bed of Press Served as Landing-Stage at the Speer Home Here," May 31; "Climax of a Frontier Episode in Kansas—the Massacre of a Merchant, Don Jose Antonio Chavez, and His Servants by a Band of Ruffians," June 15; "Changes in Campaigning Have Been Brought About By Motor and Microphone," June 16; "People Scratched Gravel Here at the Beginning or They Didn't Stay Long," June 23; masters of Wichita Lodge No. 99, A. F. & A. M., from 1871 to date, June 28, and "Legal Hanging in Kansas at the Very Beginning of the State's History," June 30.

Canville trading post's history was sketched by Marie A. Olson in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 5, 1937. The post, the site of which is in the present village of Shaw, was established in the Osage country in 1844 by Maj. A. B. Canville.

Wichita *Sunday Eagle* historical features for a seven-months' period include: "A Cow Man May Be Down But He Is Never

Out," the experiences of Frank Griffith, by Albert W. Bentz, and "Why Wichita Leads Nation in Traffic Safety," by Arch M. O'Bryant, December 5, 1937; "Wichita Official [L. N. Toland] Shows Talent as Artist," by Kenneth F. Sauer, December 12; "Memories of El Dorado and Its First Water Mill," by G. M. Weeks, and "Wichita Again Discusses Notorious Finney Bond Scandal," by Arch O'Bryant, January 16, 1938; description of surgical instruments used by W. P. Teague, assistant surgeon in the Forty-second North Carolina regiment during Civil War, by Pliny Castanien, February 13; "[Bruce Moore] Wichita Artist Attracts Attention With Work as Sculptor," by Albert W. Bentz, April 3; "When Wichita First 'Took the Cars' Sixty-six Years Ago," coming of the first Santa Fe train to Wichita, May 16, 1872, by John Reed, April 10; "[Wilbur A. Weston] Wichita Man Has Daily Record of His Life for 55 Years," by Albert W. Bentz, and "[R. T. Aitchison's] Interest in Printing Prompts Collection of Rare Books," by Lovenia Lindberg, April 17; "Naftzger Print Collection Goes to Wichita Art Museum," by W. R. Beeson, May 1; "Anthony to Celebrate Founding of City 60 Years Ago," by Harry Peebles, May 22; "Five Great Corridors Mark Kansas Wheat Belt," by Lester F. Kimmel, May 29; "How Street Fair Brought Thrills to Wichita Years Ago," by Pliny Castanien, June 5; "Death of Barber County Man [Patrick Henry Bunker] Closes Story of Siamese Twins," by Lovenia Lindberg, June 12; "History of U. S. Highway 81 Has Much Interest for Wichita," by A. Q. Miller, and "Wichita's Chamber of Commerce Becomes of Age," by Ralph S. Hinman, June 19; "Wichita Weather Bureau Completes 50 Years of Service," by Jimmy Fullerton, June 26.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* during the first half of 1938 include: "Sandzen and Curry of Kansas, Pioneers of Art in the West," January 3, 1938; "[Dr. William M. Jardine] The Cowboy Who Became a Top Hand as Public Servant and Educator," January 26; "A Dramatic Story of 77 Years in the History of Kansas Day," January 29; "First Special Session in Kansas Called in State's Darkest Year [1874]," February 5; "Seventy-Five Years at Kansas State, the College of the Prairie Settlers," February 16; "The Days When the Rainmakers Tried Their 'Magic' in Kansas," February 19; "Veteran of Populist Revolt [W. H. Ryan] Reviews Long Career in Kansas Legislature," March 5; "When [Glenn] Cunningham of Kansas Runs He Clocks Himself by His Stride," March 12; "Train-

ing of Teachers in Kansas Celebrated in Two Anniversaries [Seventy-five Years Ago, Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia Was Authorized]," March 18; "How Two Cities at Kaw's Mouth Got Tagged With the Same Name," April 5; "Traveling Libraries Take Culture to the Small Towns of Kansas," April 16; "'Hay Meadow Massacre' Climaxed County-Seat War Fifty Years Ago," May 5; "Move to Change Highway Marking Stirs Friends of Santa Fé Trail," May 13; "K. U. Memories of Kate Stephens as Scholar and Figure in Romance," May 19; "When Henry Allen Spied on Populists and Was Caught in Opera House Attic," May 25; "John Ise, the Downs, Kan. Singer, Still Hums as Teacher and Writer," June 1; "Osage Indian Band Saved Kansas From Rebel Attack 75 Years Ago," June 10, and "The Old Oregon Trail Revitalized by a Diary and a Kansan's Camera," June 20.

The story of Boston Corbett, reputed slayer of John Wilkes Booth, Lincoln's assassin, was reviewed by W. F. Hughes in his "Facts and Comment" column in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, January 27, February 3 and 10, 1938. Mr. Corbett was a resident of Cloud county in later years. The reminiscences of Mrs. J. H. Middlekauff, Hays' resident for more than seventy years, were recorded by Mr. Hughes in the March 17 and 24 issues.

Kansans and former Kansans in congress were named by Clif Stratton in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 6, 1938. Mr. Stratton's count shows the state has five senators and seventeen representatives.

Anthony's postoffice history as given by Ruskin Couch, postmaster, at the dedicatory services for the city's new postoffice building February 15, 1938, was recorded in the *Anthony Republican*, February 17. The office was established on June 14, 1878. George W. Moffat was the first postmaster.

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the organization of Winfield as a city of the third class was observed with a celebration and homecoming February 22 to 28, 1938. Winfield history was reviewed in considerable detail in the *Winfield Record* and *Daily Courier* in issues contemporaneous with the celebration. The charter was granted the city February 22, 1873.

Osawatomie's *Graphic-News* issued its fiftieth anniversary edition February 24, 1938. The following articles were among those featured in the thirty-two illustrated pages: "50 Years of Public Service by the *Graphic-News*; Founded by F. Pyle"; "Osawatomie Became City [of Third Class] October 1, 1883"; "Local

Masonic Lodge Charter Was Granted Seventy-nine Years Ago," by Lisle W. Chambers; "First Organization of Baptists in 1862, Rev. B. L. Read First Pastor," "First School in Osawatomie Was in 1857 on Subscription Plan," by C. S. Bixby; "Osawatomie Christian Church Was Organized in February, 1892," by the Rev. Luther Cole; "Presbyterian Church Is Another Half-Centenarian in Osawatomie," by the Rev. H. M. Throop; "American Legion Post Is Active Organization in This Community," by J. Frank Imes; "Hannin-Kelley Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Established Six Years," by Lester M. Freeman; "Present Carnegie Free Library Had Its Start Back in 1889," by Mrs. Helyn H. Imes; "Eastern Star Chapter Has Been Active in Osawatomie Since 1882," by Mrs. Eleanor Beasley; "Women's Booster Club Since 1931," by Mrs. Dana L. Dunaway; "Build Church [Christian Scientist] 1927," by Mrs. C. S. Edgerle; "Elk's Lodge Is Thirty-Four Years Old," by Dr. A. W. Fairchild; "Active B. P. W. Club," by Christine Ward; "Mo. Pac. Booster Club 12 Years," by John H. Erickson; "In Osawatomie's Sport Realm"; "I. O. O. F. Lodge Is in Fifteenth Year," by A. W. Fairchild; "Rotary Eight Years Old"; "Osawatomie Methodism Dates Back to 1854; 86 Members in Two Years," by the Rev. Eugene Kramer; "Osawatomie Has Been a Missouri Pacific Town Since Early 1880"; "St. Phillips Church Built in 1921; Catholics First Met in School House," by Father John O'Connor; "Osawatomie's Municipal Water and Light Plant," by R. A. Hanfeld; "John Brown's Cabin," "The Battle of Osawatomie," by Anna L. January; "Osawatomie State Hospital," and "Samuel Geer Was First Postmaster."

Four historical articles of special Kansas interest published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* early in the year are: "Last Indian Massacre in Kansas Was Carried Out Sixty Years Ago [in present Decatur county]," February 24, 1938; "Salina Is 80 Years Old," March 13; "[Dr. Thomas C. Hinkle of Onaga] Kansas Author of Animal Stories Creates Realm of Heroic Adventure," March 24, and "Call to War Against Slavery Given by Settlers in Kansas [in 1855]," June 18.

The history of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, established by a legislative act signed by the governor March 7, 1863, was briefly reviewed in the March, 1938, issue of the *Kansas Teacher*.

Kansas' oil history from 1860 was sketched in a four-page section of the Wichita *Sunday Beacon*, April 10, 1938. Maps illustrating the development westward by counties were featured.

"Along With Music, the Art of Living Has Been Mastered in Lindsborg, Kan." was the title of an article written by Conwell Carlson in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, April 28, 1938. He pictured these people in the process of assimilation. A typical example is the two-towered brick country temple, one inscribed in Swedish and the other in English. Their love for coffee and song, *sill och potatis, knackebrod, polka grisar* and *smorgasbord* are interesting reminiscences of their former days.

An "Early Abilene" edition was issued by the Abilene *High School Booster*, May 12, 1938. Featured articles included: "Tom Smith," by Merven Neis; "Wild Bill Hickok," by G. C. Etherington; "Chronological History of Abilene," by Mildred Hess and Wilma Staehli; "Grasshoppers of '74," and "Abilene Cattle Trail," by Kay Crawford; "Chisholm Trail," by Uretha Reynolds; "Wheels of Industry," by Dale Berger; "Local Government of Abilene," by Jane Giles; "Disasters of Early Abilene Flood of 1903," by Bob Owens; "Marked Sites in Abilene," by Rosemary Haslouer; "Well-known Abilene Names," by Jean Asling and Mildred Schultz; "Abilene's Churches," by Wendell Harmon; "Before the Dawn," by LeRoy Jolley; "Organizations," by Elma Monroe; "Early Railroad Lines Through Abilene Started the Town"; "Texas Street," by Frank Puckett; "99.98 Per Cent," by Wilmer Kuhn; "Some of the Early Publications of Abilene and the County"; "Abilene High School"; "The Story of T. C. Henry," by Christine Nelson, and "Smoke Eating [Fire Department]," by Robert Polley.

The Great Bend *Herald* is publishing a series of interviews with Don Dodge under the heading "Along the Pioneer Years," beginning May 13, 1938. Mr. Dodge settled in the Great Bend vicinity in 1871.

The sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Anthony was celebrated May 25-27, 1938. The Anthony *Republican* issued an illustrated 50-page historical edition on May 19 featuring pioneer reminiscences and histories of the city's churches, schools, railroads, postoffice, banks, clubs, library, fair association, and telephone company. Included among other headline articles were: "City Has Had 23 Mayors in 60 Years," "Story of Game and Wild Life," "Many 'Highlights' Found in History of City's Administration and Government," "Anthony Located on April 6, 1878," "2,132 Residents Listed in 1885," "Sugar Mill Was Early Industry," "Plans to 'Organize' Harper County Made in a Store at Baxter Springs," "Old Washington School Was Scene of County's Only Lynching in

1886," "Street Railway System Proposed for Anthony," "Anthony Charter Filed in July, 1878," "Anthony Legion Post Named for Local Boy Killed in France in 1918," "Newspapers Were Numerous in Early Day History of Anthony Journalism," "Most Disastrous Storm in History of County Occurred at Harper, May, 1892," "Anthony's Hose Team Takes National Championship in the Years 1888-1889," "Opening of Oklahoma Strip Marked by Excitement and Wild Confusion," "A Complete List County Officers," "'Old Opera House,' Once Among Finest Buildings of Its Kind in the West," and "Tennessee Colony Formed in County." A reproduction of the city's first newspaper, the *Anthony Journal* dated August 22, 1878, accompanied the edition.

Overbrook newspaper history was reviewed in the *Overbrook Citizen*, June 9, 1938.

A history of Salem Lodge No. 228, A. F. & A. M., was sketched by Ray Myers, Salem correspondent, in the *Lebanon Times*, June 9, 1938. A charter was granted the lodge on February 20, 1884, and in 1891 the lodge moved to Esbon.

The *Leader-Courier* of Kingman issued a well-illustrated sixty-page sixtieth anniversary edition June 17, 1938. Pictures of many of the city's business and professional men, business houses and institutions were printed. Also featured were histories of the city's clubs, churches, schools, railroads, bus lines, banks, library, post-office, *Leader-Courier*, flour mill, telephone, light and water plant. Titles of other articles included: "Kingman in 1908," "Dust Storm Hit County in 1904," "Kingman County Has Had Two Oil Discoveries in the Past Twelve Years," "Kingman Piped for Gas in 1929," "Blizzard of 1874 Told by Sebring," "Dedicate Courthouse at Kingman March 23, 1908," "County Officers Since Founding," "First Railroad Came to Kingman on June 3, 1884," "First Term of Court Held in Kingman in 1878," "Four Granges in Kingman County," "Street Cars in Use Here in 1887," and "First Christmas in Kingman."

Notes on Council Grove's library history were published in the *Council Grove Republican*, July 18 and 27, 1938. W. A. Miller, now of Washington, D. C., was the first librarian.

The story of a baby-mixing incident at a dance at the Hutchinson mill in Marysville in 1867 was reviewed in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, July 28, 1938. The article related that the story

was told Owen Wister some years later and was incorporated into his famous Western novel, *The Virginian*.

A detailed "History of Neosho County Newspapers" was a feature of the seventieth anniversary edition of the St. Paul *Journal*, August 4, 1938. The history, written by W. W. Graves, publisher of the *Journal*, has also been issued in pamphlet form.

Potter county, Texas, recently observed the fiftieth anniversary of its organization and Gene Howe's Amarillo (Tex.) *Sunday News-Globe* celebrated the occasion with the issuance, on August 14, 1938, of a 280-page historical edition. Included among the feature stories on Southwest history were: "Chisholm Trail Was Named For a Trapper, Not a Cattleman," "The Spanish Horse Changed the History of the Great Plains," "Trail Driving Required Skill and Courage to Surmount Hazards," "Buffalo Hunting Industry Assumed Unbelievable Proportions," "Kidnapping of Four German Sisters Led to Brilliant Charge of Baldwin," "Stupidity of Plains Buffalo Was Partly Responsible For its Rapid Extinction," "Painted Horde Repulsed at Battle of Adobe Walls," "Bat Masterson Never Killed Men Needlessly," "Bent's Fort Planned to Resist Fierce Attacks," and "Coronado Leads His Swarthy Spaniards on the First of Many Expeditions."

The Fort Scott *Tribune* issued a twenty-four page "Made in Fort Scott edition" August 15, 1938, which reviewed the histories of some of the city's industries.

The Washington County Register, of Washington, observed its seventieth anniversary with the issuance of an 88-page illustrated historical supplement September 16, 1938. Among the numerous features were: A facsimile of the first page of Vol. 1, No. 1, of *The Western Observer*, Washington's first newspaper published March 25, 1869, by Mark J. Kelley; "A Brief History of *The Washington County Register*"; "Washington County From 1850 to 1938," written in part by Dr. Charles Williamson; "Early State History of the Discovery of Kansas"; "Fort Leavenworth Military Road," by George A. Root; histories of Washington, Hollenberg, Haddam, Palmer, Barnes, Mahaska, Enosdale, Greenleaf, Round Grove, Clifton, Linn, Kimeo, Hanover, Strawberry, and Morrowville, and thumbnail sketches of some of their leading citizens and business houses; "Former Editors Speak"; "Graduates of Washington High School From 1885 to 1938"; "Band in Washington for Fifty-five Years"; "Famous Route of Pony Express Is Depicted in Map by W. R.

Honnell"; "Cottonwood Station," by John G. Ellenbecker; "Soldiers in Washington County Cemeteries"; "Churches of the County," and a partial list of old settlers residing in the county before 1874.

Histories of some of South Wichita's schools, churches, and business houses were briefly sketched in the 24-page souvenir edition of *The South Side Independent*, Wichita, September 23, 1938.

An article, "Topeka's Three Namesakes in Other States Are Still Small, Struggling Towns," by Ken Kimbel, appeared in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 25, 1938. The towns Topeka are in Illinois, Indiana and Minnesota. There is also a Topeka Junction in Georgia.

Kirwin history was reviewed in the old settlers' edition of the *Kirwin Kansan* issued September 29, 1938.

A history of Pleasant Prairie School District No. 38, of Johnson county, was sketched in *The Northeast Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, October 27, 1938.

The history of the Kansas State Teachers Association was reviewed by C. O. Wright in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 4, 1938. The association was organized in Leavenworth March 14, 1863.

Kansas Historical Notes

Oregon Trail Memorial Association officials, headed by Dr. Howard R. Driggs, of New York, president, were in Kansas August 18 and 19, 1938, assisting in the dedication of Pony Express trail markers at Seneca and Marysville. On August 18 two markers were presented to the Horton-Kennekuk Historical Society. The society plans to place one of them on Highway No. 159, south of Horton, at a point where the old express route intersects the present highway, and the other on the site of the old express station in Kennekuk. At Seneca trail association officials assisted in the dedication of a marker erected at Fourth and Main streets on the site of the Seneca Pony Express station. On August 19 plaques were placed near Marysville; one a mile west and the other two miles east of the city on the old trail adjacent to U. S. Highway No. 36. John G. Ellenbecker, Marysville, is Kansas regent of the association and writes that Kansas may use about 130 of the plaques before the trail through Kansas is considered adequately marked.

The Chase County Historical Society held its annual business meeting in Cottonwood Falls, September 10, 1938, and elected W. N. Oles, president; George Starkey, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, secretary, and S. H. Baker, treasurer. The following township directors were named for three-year terms: Mrs. Clara Hildebrand, Matfield township; Edwin Jackson, Cottonwood township, and T. R. Wells, Diamond Creek township. Mr. Oles, the new president, succeeds Claude W. Hawkins, of Clements, who has been head of the society since its organization in December, 1934.

Dedication of a tablet in the Kirwin city park for old Fort Kirwin and stockade was a feature of the old settlers' program held there on October 4, 1938. The marker was provided by the Phebe Dustin chapter of the D. A. R.

At the closing session of the thirty-eighth annual two-day reunion of the Twentieth Kansas Regiment Association held in Topeka, October 9 and 10, 1938, C. E. Steele, of Pomona, was elected president and L. E. Coffield, Yates Center, was elected vice-president. Re-elected officers were: Harry W. Brent, Topeka, secretary-treasurer; and Jerry C. Springstead, Topeka, historian.

At a meeting of the Riley County Historical Society held in Manhattan, October 10, 1938, Mrs Medora Flick was elected president;

Mrs. F. L. Murdock, vice-president; Mrs. G. H. Failyer, secretary; Mrs. Caroline Smith, treasurer, and G. H. Failyer, custodian. The board of directors includes C. M. Correll, Grace Given, Mrs. Loyal Payne, W. D. Haines, C. W. Emmons, Mrs. Flick, Mrs. Murdock, Mrs. Failyer, and Mrs. Smith.

Swedish history and Enterprise was the program theme for the Dickinson County Historical Society's meeting in Enterprise, October 21, 1938. At the business meeting presided over by W. A. Stacey, of Abilene, president of the society, Mrs. A. B. Seelye was re-elected first vice-president and Mrs. H. M. Howard was re-elected secretary. Terms of the other officers did not expire this year.

Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, Merriam, was elected president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society at the annual meeting October 24, 1938. Mrs. Griffin succeeds Mrs. Carl Harder, Merriam. Other officers include: Mrs. Jack Weems Quarrier, Sixty-first street and Del Mar, vice-president; Mrs. A. V. Fuller, Merriam, recording secretary; Mrs. J. G. Schell, Merriam, corresponding secretary; Mrs. J. C. Hill, Merriam, treasurer; Mrs. X. O. Meyer, Olathe, historian; Mrs. John Sanders, Shawnee, custodian; Mrs. Ross Smith, Merriam, parliamentarian, and Frank C. Wornall, 3810 Warwick boulevard, supervisor. Mrs. John W. Sanders presented Gwendolynne Jones, a member of the freshman class of Olathe High School, \$10 as first prize in the essay contest, "Why Is the Old Shawnee Mission of Interest to the People of Johnson County and the State of Kansas?" Betty J. Smith, Shawnee Mission Rural High School, was awarded a framed etching as a special prize for her entry.

Fifty-year residents of Kiowa county were special guests at the second annual jubilee sponsored by the Kiowa County Historical Society in Greensburg, October 25, 1938. At the society's business meeting the following officers were re-elected: Bruce Kennedy, Mullinville, president; J. H. Olinger, Greensburg, first vice-president; Frank E. Dowell, Wellsford, second vice-president; Sam Booth, Belvidere, third vice-president; Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary, and Mrs. Chas. T. Johnson, Greensburg, treasurer.

Larned City Guide, the first of the American Guide Series to be issued by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration of Kansas, was released in October, 1938. Featured in the illustrated pamphlet of thirty-four pages were a historical sketch of the city, general information concerning the Larned of today, a

city map and suggested environs tours to points of interest. The Larned *Guide* was published by *The Tiller and Toiler* of Larned. Copy was prepared by the Federal Writers under the supervision of Harold Evans, state supervisor.

The Historical Records Survey of Kansas, a division of the Women's and Professional Projects of the Works Progress Administration, is compiling bibliographies of historical materials in the county archives of Kansas. When completed this *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas* will number 105 volumes, one for each county in the state.

The Kansas survey was started in February, 1936, under the direction of A. Q. Miller. Since October, 1936, Harold J. Henderson has been state director.

At present the survey is working in approximately sixty-five counties. The Johnson, Greenwood and Montgomery county volumes have already been published. The Seward county volume is scheduled for publication this fall. Averaging 146 mimeographed pages the publications sketch the counties' historical background and describe in detail the organization and functions of the offices whose records they list. The inventories are guides to the location of all extant official county archives.

The Kansas State Historical Society receives copies of these Kansas county inventories for filing and has been designated a depository for copies of all similar publications issued by the survey, which also operates in other states.

Dr. Robert Taft, of the University of Kansas, whose lectures with lantern slides featured annual meetings of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1933, on early Kansas scenes and persons, and in 1937 on frontier artists, is author of *Photography and the American Scene*, published by The Macmillan Company of New York in October, 1938. Kansas photographs reproduced were the Historical Society's daguerreotype of a Free-State battery taken in Topeka in 1856 pictured before and after its restoration by Doctor Taft, and Alexander Gardner's photographs of Fort Harker, a bull train crossing the Smoky Hill river near Ellsworth, the main street of Ellsworth, a ranch house of central Kansas, and laying track twenty miles west of Hays, all taken in October, 1867. The volume contains 546 pages with over 300 photographic illustrations. Doctor Taft wrote two articles concerning the Historical Society's Gardner stereoscopic photographs which were published in Volumes III and VI of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Life and Times of Mother Bridget Hayden, by W. W. Graves, has been published recently by the St. Paul *Journal*. Mother Bridget came to present Neosho county in October, 1847, to assist in a school for Indian girls at Osage Mission. In 1870 she opened St. Ann's Academy for young women and governed it until her death on January 23, 1890. The 324-page illustrated book is No. 8 in the Graves Historical Series.

Errata in Volume VII

Page 91, line 10, read "I. B. Morgan."

Page 156, first line of last paragraph, read "1869" instead of "1868."

Page 176, line 3, read "proprietor of the Emporia *News*."

Page 316, ninth line from bottom, read "Lincoln, Neb."

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